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ΑΡΙΣΤΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ. ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ.



BAΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ Δ ΩΡΟΝ:

OR ,

His Majestys Instructions to his dearest Sonne,
HENRY THE PRINCE.

WRITTEN BY KING JAMES I.

REPRINTED

FROM THE EXCESSIVELY RARE PRIVATELY-PRINTED EDITION OF EDINBURGH, 1599,

For Presentation to the Members of the ROXBURGHE CLUB.

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MDCCCLXXXVII.

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TO THE PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS

OF

THE ROXBURGHE CLUB,

THIS REPRINT IS DEDICATED AND PRESENTED,

BY THEIR OBEDIENT SERVANT,

CHARLES BUTLER.

3, CONNAUGHT PLACE, LONDON. Fune, 1887.

The Koxburghe Club.

MDCCCLXXXVII.

THE EARL OF POWIS,

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NOTICE BY THE EDITOR.

So much has been already written on the life and reign of King James I., that the Editor has not thought it necessary to increase the bulk of this volume by Notes and Annotations, to which indeed the work, from the didactic nature of its contents, does not particularly lend itself. He has therefore confined himself to an account of the work, and the history of its production and publication; accompanied by the interesting feature of a comparative view of the Additions and Variations introduced into the Second Edition. A Glossary of the least-known words is also appended.

CHARLES EDMONDS.

PREFACE.

ING JAMES I. was the most learned, the most pedantic, and the most voluminous of royal British authors. The edition of his works, which were published at his command by James Montague, Bishop of Winchester, in 1616-20, though filling a thick folio volume, is by no That contains only his prose works, means complete. but his poetical compositions have never been thought to merit a collective reimpression. If any apology were needed for thus putting his thoughts into print, he might cite the example of several of his ancestors, for James I. and James V. have written poems which still deserve to be read; and even his unfortunate mother is, on the authority of Horace Walpole, credited with writings other than her voluminous correspondence. Among them are two, which may have suggested to her son the idea of the one which is reprinted in the present volume; the one being entitled "Royal Advice to her Son," in two books, and the other "The Institution of a Prince," in French verse, which she is said to have transcribed with her own hand, and the cover of which she embroidered. (See Preface to the Works of King James I.)

Among these numerous compositions, which comprehend disquisitions on subjects differing widely from each

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other, from Paraphrases and Meditations on Books of the Old and New Testament and the Lord's Prayer, Polemics and Politics, down to Demonology and Witchcraft, the Evils of Tobacco, the Planting of Mulberry Trees and Breeding of Silk-worms, Lawful Sports to be used on Sundays, Speeches to Parliament, etc., the only one that seems worthy of perusal at the present day is the "Basilicon Doron."

More than any of the rest it gives a singularly accurate description of the author's general opinions on all the subjects likely to force themselves on a man's attention while engaged in active life, and more particularly when he came to sovereign power; and the strongly expressed directions as to the manner in which a monarch should act, are in the style of a man who considered it a duty to himself as well as to his subjects to rule and not be ruled.

Sir Walter Scott, in his observations on a portion of it reprinted in his edition of the "Somers Tracts," vol. iii., p. 260, says: "It is composed in his Majesty's very best manner, exhibiting that extraordinary mixture of learning and pedantry, sense and folly, reason and prejudice, vanity and prudence, which most deservedly procured James the character of the wisest fool in Christendom." And Dr. Robertson, in his "History of Scotland," under date of 1599, thus alludes to it: "As several pamphlets were dispersed at this time in England, containing objections to his title, James employed some learned men in

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his kingdom to answer these cavillers, and to explain the advantages which would result to both kingdoms by the These books were eagerly read, union of the crowns. and contributed not a little to reconcile the English to A book published this year by the King that event. himself produced an effect still more favourable. It was entitled Basilicon Doron, and contained precepts concerning the art of government, addressed to Prince Henry his son. Notwithstanding the great alterations and refinements in national taste since that time, we must allow this to be no contemptible performance, and not to be inferior to the works of most contemporary writers, either in purity of style or justness of composition. Even the vain parade of erudition with which it abounds, and which now disgusts us, raised the admiration of that age; and as it was filled with those general rules which speculative authors deliver for rendering a nation happy, and of which James could discourse with great plausibility, though often incapable of putting them in practice, the English conceived a high opinion of his abilities, and expected an increase of national honour and prosperity, under a Prince so profoundly skilled in politics, and who gave such a specimen both of his wisdom and of his love to his people."

As this work has of late years been declared mean, worthless, and uninteresting, by various writers who plainly show that they have never read it, we will give the judgments of some well qualified to deliver them.

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"In this book," says Camden, "is most elegantly pourtrayed and set forth the pattern of a most excellent and every way accomplished king. Incredible it is how many hearts and affections he won unto him by his correcting of it, and what an expectation of himself he raised amongst Archbishop Spotswood all men, even to admiration." also regards it as having contributed more to facilitate the accession of James to the throne of England than all the discourses published by other writers in his favour. Bacon considered it as excellently written, and Locke pronounced its author "that learned king who well understood the nature of things." Hume says, "Whoever will read the "Basilicon Doron," particularly the two last books, will confess James to have possessed no mean genius." An opinion not less emphatic is pronounced by one who cannot, perhaps, be called entirely impartial, for he was a favourite of the king's, and the appointed editor of his prose works, namely, James Montague, Bishop of Winchester. It occurs in the preface: "When the King had published his Basilicon-Doron, a Booke so singularly penned, that a Pomegranat is not so full of kernells, as that is of Excellent Counsells: What applause had it in the world? How did it inflame mens minds to a love and admiration of his MAIESTIE beyond measure; Insomuch that comming out just at the time his MAIESTIE came in, it made the hearts of all his people as one Man, as much to Honour him for Religion and Learning, as to obey him for Title and Authoritie; and gave us then a taste, or PREFACE. XV

rather the first fruits, of that we have since reaped a plentifull Harvest of, by his MAIESTIES most prudent and gracious Gouernment for us."

The character of the work given by Isaac D'Israeli (a blind partisan) in his "Character of James I." is not altogether an inaccurate one, and draws attention to a peculiarity in its diction, upon which we also shall have occasion to say something further on, for it appears to have escaped the attention of that researching writer (as Byron called him). D'Israeli thus speaks: "That treatise of James I., entitled Basilicon Doron, or, His Maiesties Instructions to his dearest Sonne, Henry the Prince," was composed by the king in Scotland, in the freshness of his studious days; a work, addressed to a prince by a monarch, which, in some respects, could only have come from the hand of such a workman. The morality and the politics often retain their curiosity and their value. Our royal author has drawn his principles of government from the classical volumes of antiquity; for then politicians quoted Plato, Aristotle, and Cicero. His waters had, indeed, flowed over those beds of ore; but the growth and vigour of the work come from the mind of the king himself: he writes for the Prince of Scotland, and about the Scottish people. On its first appearance, Camden has recorded the strong sensation it excited: it was not only admired, but it entered into and won the hearts of men. . . . The style is remarkable for its profuse sprinkling of Scottish and French words, where the Doric plainness of

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the one, and the intelligent expression of the other, offer curious instances of the influence of manners over language; the diction of the royal author is a striking evidence of the intermixture of the two nations, and of a court which had marked its divided interests by its own chequered language. This royal manual still interests a philosophical mind; like one of those antique and curious pictures we sometimes discover in a cabinet,—studied for the costume, yet where the touches of nature are true, although the colouring is brown and faded: but there is a force, and sometimes even a charm, in the ancient simplicity, to which even the delicacy of taste may return, not without pleasure."

The Scottish and French words introduced into this work are not so numerous as D'Israeli asserts. But what is really curious is, that though the whole work, in the autograph MS. of the King, is in lowland Scotch; the original printed edition is, with a few exceptions, altered into classical English. This is clearly proved by our facsimile. The change is certainly creditable to the political foresight of James and his counsellors.

The mode in which this book, written for the edification of a Prince who had then just entered his sixth year, made its first appearance, is very curious. According to Spotswood, it was shown to [Andrew] Melville in MS., and in consequence of extracts from it being laid before the Synod of Fyfe, his Majesty published it in the course of that year, 1599. (Hist., p. 457.) But this account is

contradicted by that which James himself has given in his vindicatory and explanatory preface to the second edition, entitled "To the Reader." These are his expressions:—

".... And amongst the rest of my secret actios, whiche haue (vnlooked for of me) come to publick knowledge, it hath so fared with my Βασιλικον δωρον, directed to my eldest sonne; whiche I wrote for exercise of my owne ingyne, and instruction of him, who is appointed by God (I hope) to sit on my Throne after me. For the purpose and mater thereof being only fit for a King, as teaching him his office; and the person whome-for it was ordayned, a Kings heire, whose secret counsellor and faithfull admonisher it must be; I thought it no waies conuenient, nor comelie, that either it should to all be proclaymed, whiche to one onely appertained (& specially being a messinger betwixt two so conjunct persons) or yet that the moulde, whereupon he should frame his future behauior, when he comes both vnto the perfection of his yeares, and possession of his inheritance, should before the hande, be made common to the people, the subject of his future happie gouernment. And therfore for the more secret, and close-keeping of them, I onely permitted seauen of them to be printed, the printer being first sworn for secrecie: and these seauen I dispersed amongst some of my trustiest seruands, to be keeped closelie by them: least in-case by the iniquitie, or wearing of time, any of them might haue bene loste, yet some of them might haue remained after me, as witnesses to my Sonne, both of the honest integritie of my hart, and of my fatherlie affection and naturall care towards him. But since contrarie to my intention and exspectation, as I have alreadie said, this booke is nowe vented, and set forth to the publicke viewe of the worlde, and consequentlie, subject to every mans censure, as the current of his affection leades him; I am nowe forced, aswell for resisting to the malice of the children of enuy, who like waspes, suckes venome out of euery wholsome hearbe; as for the satisfaction of the godly honest sorte, in any thing that they may mistake therein; both to publishe and spred the true copies thereof, for defacing of the false copies that are alreadie spred, as I am enformed: as likewayes, by this preface, to cleare suche parts thereof, as in respect of the concised shortnesse of my style, may be mis-interpreted therein."

An objection must here be taken to one important point in the king's defence of himself, namely, that

relating to the issue of "false copies" against his wish, and the necessity he is consequently under, to "publishe and spred the true copies thereof, and to cleare suche partes thereof, as in respect of the concised shortnesse of my style, may be mis-interpreted therein." We may be doing the royal author no injustice in doubting the truth of this statement, for there is no knowledge and no tradition of such "false copies" ever having been "vented and set forth to the publicke viewe of the worlde." king himself, it will be observed, saves himself from uttering a positive falsehood by the guarded expression "as I am enformed," and thus embraces a convenient opportunity for explaining his views by a very plausible, but still untrue expedient; one, indeed, that has been taken advantage of by other authors, Alexander Pope, among them, for the publication of his Private Correspondence.

While referring to the question of James's double-dealing propensities, we may quote from Nares's "Life of Lord Burleigh," vol. 3, p. 429, the following extract from a letter addressed by the Dean of Durham [Tobias Matthew] to the Lord Treasurer [Burleigh], dated April 9, 1594. "I pray God the King's protestations be not over-well believed; who is a deeper dissembler, by all men's judgments that know him best, than is thought possible for his years."

That there had been no concealment about the king's being engaged upon a second, and what he wished to be PREFACE. xix

thought a more correct edition of his work, is shewn by an extract from a letter from John Chamberlain, a gentleman well accomplished in learning and languages, improved by travel, and intimate with some of the most considerable men of his time, though now best known as an industrious private communicator to his friends of the courtly and most important news of the period. It is addressed to Mr. (afterwards Sir) Dudley Carleton, at Paris, and is dated London, Oct. 15, 1602, five months before the king's accession to the English throne, and runs thus:—

"That king (James VI.) is printing a little work with a Greek name [Basilicon Doron] a last will of remembrance to his son; and because it has gone abroad subject to many constructions, and much depraved by many copies, he will now set it out under his own hand." (See Calendar of State Papers; Domestic Series, 1601-3, p. 249. The Letter has been printed by the Camden Society among others of Chamberlain's Letters.)

It was ready for publication in the early part of the year 1602-3, for previous to the king's departure from Scotland, which was on the 5th April, 1603, he addressed to his son, Prince Henry, the following letter, together with a copy of the work, to which he draws his son's attention:—

"My Sonne, that I see you not before my pairting, impute it to this great occasion quhairin tyme is sa preciouse, but that shall, by Goddis grace, be recompencid by youre cumming to me shortlie, and continuall residence with me ever after; lett not this newis make you proude or insolent, for a Kings sonne and heire was ye before, and na maire are ye yett; the augmentation that is heirby lyke to fall unto you, is but in caires and heavie burthens, be thairfore merrie, but not insolent; keepe a greatnes, but sine fastu; be resolute, but not willfull; keepe your kyndnes, but in honorable sorte; choose

nane to be your playe-fellowis but thaime that are well borne; and, above all things, give never good countenance to any but according as ye shall be informed that they are in estimation with me; looke upon all Englishe men that shall cum to visite you as upon youre loving subjectis, not with that ceremonie as towardis straingeris, and yett with suche hartines as at this tyme they deserve; this Gentleman, qwhom this bearare accompanies, is worthie and of guide ranke, and nou my familiare servitoure, use him thairfore in a maire hamelie louing sorte nor otheris. I sende you herewith my booke latelie prentid, studdie and profite in it as ye wolde deserve my blessing, and as thaire can na thing happen unto you quhairof ye will not finde the generall grounde thairin, if not the uerrie particulaire pointe touched, sa mon ye leuell euerie mannis opinions or aduyces unto you as ye finde thaime agree or discorde with the reulis thaire sett doun, allowing and following thaire aduyses that agrees with the same, mistrusting and frowning upon theime that aduyses you to the contraire; be diligent and earnist in youre studdies, that at youre meiting with me I maye praise you for youre progresse in learning; be obedient to youre maister for youre awin weill, and to procure my thankis, for in reuerencing him ye obeye me, and honoure youre self; Fairwell.

"Youre louing Father,
"JAMES R."

Applause of the work (the authorised edition of 1603) was not confined to England nor to Protestants only, for we learn from the "Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1603-10," that a letter is in existence dated Rome, May 14, 1603, in the handwriting of Robert Parsons, [alias N. Doleman] the noted Jesuit priest, addressed to N. T., in which he hopes the king may become a Catholic; there are prayers, he says, for him in the Seminaries, and the Pope is delighted with Basilicon Doron. He further recounts his own services abroad for the king's mother and himself; prays pardon for his share in the "Book of Succession" [entitled "A Conference about the next Succession to the Crowne of

Ingland," 1594; in which the title of the Infanta is supported against that of King James, after the death of Queen Elizabeth]; and begs the intercession of some friends to protect him from his slanderers. A letter from another Jesuit, written in the same month, also manifests surprise at the favourable tone of the king's book towards Catholics; and remarks on his promises to, and good treatment of, them since his arrival. . . pressions would naturally astonish and delight those persons who were not sufficiently acquainted with the time-serving policy of James. But he was cunning enough for a time to conceal from many sharp eyes about him that he was ready to be "all things to all men," if by such conduct he could carry into practice his own favourite As an exemplification: he first printed his Basilicon Doron in 1599, the year following that in which he had avowed himself opposed to "Anglican Bishops," and as the advocate of the ministry of the Scottish Kirk; but after his accession, it became his boast, that in this work he had spoken ten times more bitterly of the Puritans than of the Papists; adding that the "Preface," which, as King of England, he had attached to the second edition, was written altogether in odium puritanorum.

The following observations of Bishop Russell, in his edition of "Spotswood's History of the Church of Scotland," are interesting and important: "The Presbyterians of Scotland could not conceal their disapprobation of the political principles of the Law of Free Monarchies. This

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was one reason of their being treated with such severity in the celebrated Basilicon Doron, or Instructions of the King to his son Prince Henry, which came to light in the course of the following year. Fond of seeing this work in print, and yet conscious that it would give great offence, James was anxious to keep it from the knowledge of his native subjects until circumstances should enable him to publish it with safety. With this view, 'the printer being first sworn for secrecy,' says he, 'I only permitted seven of them to be printed, and these seven I dispersed among some of my trustiest servants to be kept closely by them.' Sir James Sempill of Beltrees, one of the courtiers, shewed his copy to Melville, with whom he was on a footing of intimacy. Having extracted some of the principal propositions in the work, Melville sent them to his nephew, whose colleague, John Dykes, laid them before the provincial synod of Fife. The synod judged them to be of the most pernicious tendency, and not believing, or affecting not to believe, that they could proceed from the high authority to which they were attributed, sent them to his Majesty. An order was immediately issued for the apprehension of Dykes, who absconded. The propositions laid before the synod were the following: That the office of a king is of a mixed kind, partly civil and partly ecclesiastical: That a principal part of his function consists in ruling the Church: That it belongs to him to judge when preachers wander from their text, and that such as refuse to submit to his judgment in such PREFACE. xxiii

cases ought to be capitally punished: That no ecclesiastical assemblies ought to be held without his consent: That no man is more to be hated of a king than a proud Puritan: That Parity among ministers is irreconcilable with monarchy, inimical to order, and the mother of confusion: That the Puritans had been a pest to the Commonwealth and Church of Scotland, wished to engross the civil government as tribunes of the people, sought the introduction of democracy into the state, and quarrelled with the King because he was a king: That the chief persons among them should not be allowed to remain in the land: in fine, That Parity in the Church should be banished, Episcopacy set up, and all who preached against bishops rigorously punished. Such were the sentiments that James entertained, and which he had printed, at the very time that he was giving out that he had no intention of altering the government of the Church, or of introducing Episcopacy. It is easy to conceive what effect this discovery must have produced on the minds of the Presbyterian ministers. And were it not that we know that a sense of shame has but a feeble influence on princes and statesmen, and that they never want apologists for their worst actions, it would be confounding to think that either the King or his agents should have been so barefaced as after this to repeat their protestations.

"Finding that the work gave great offence, James afterwards published an edition of the 'Doron,' accompanied with an apologetical preface. His apology, as

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might be expected, is extremely awkward and unsatisfactory. Too timid to avow his real meaning, and too obstinate to retract what he had advanced, he has recourse to equivocation, and to explanations glaringly at variance with the text. The opprobrious name of Puritans, he allows, was properly applicable only to those called the Family of Love, who arrogated to themselves an exclusive and sinless purity. To gain credit to his assertion, that he alluded chiefly to such persons, he alleges that Brown, Penry, and other Englishmen had, when in Scotland, 'sown their popple,' and that certain 'brainsick and heady preachers' had imbibed their spirit; although he could not but know that these rigid sectaries were unanimously opposed by the Scottish ministers, and that the only countenance they received was from himself and his courtiers.

"The following acknowledgment deserves particular notice, as it ascertains an important fact, and enables us to judge of the policy of the course which James was at present pursuing. Speaking of the ministers, he says:—
'There is presently a sufficient number of good men of them in this kingdome; and yet are they ALL known to be against the form of the English Church.' And again, speaking of the charge of Puritanism, he says: 'I protest upon mine honour that I mean it not generally of all preachers, or others, that like better of the single form of policy in our Church, than of the many ceremonies of the Church of England, that are persuaded that their bishops

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smell of a papal supremacy, that the surplice, cornered cap. and such-like, are the outward badges of popish errors. No, I am so far from being contentious in these things (which for my own part I ever esteemed indifferent), as I do equally love and honour the learned and grave men of either of these opinions. It can no ways become me to pronounce so lightly a sentence in so old a controversy. We all (God be praised) do agree in the grounds, and the bitterness of men upon such questions doth but trouble the peace of the Church, and gives advantage and entry to the Papists by our division.' Such is the language of one who spent a great part of his life in agitating these very questions, who was at that time employed in imposing these very forms upon a Church, which, according to his own acknowledgment, was decidedly and unanimously averse to them, and who, in this very publication, lays injunctions on his son to prosecute the scheme after his death.

"It has been said that this work contributed more to smoothen his accession than all the books written in defence of his title to the English crown. But the facts respecting its publication do not accord with this theory. Though an impartial examination of its contents will not justify the high encomiums passed upon it, yet its literary merits are not contemptible. It is more free from childish and disgusting pedantry than any other of James's writings, and contains many good advices, mingled, however, with not a few silly prejudices.

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"A careful comparison of the Law of Free Monarchies and the Basilicon Doron throws no small light on the history of the time. It points out the true ground of the strong antipathies which James felt to the Presbyterian ministers, and ascertains the meaning of his favourite ecclesiastico-political aphorism, No Bishop, no King.

"What truth there was in all this, James has himself told us in another of his writings: 'That Bishops ought to be in the Church, I ever maintained as an Apostolike institution, and so the ordinance of God; so was I ever an enemie to the confused anarchie and parity of the Puritans, as well appeareth in my Basilicon Doron. I that in my said book to my son do speak tenn times more bitterly of them (the Puritans) nor Papists. I that for the space of six years before my coming into England laboured nothing so much as to depresse their paritie, and re-erect Bishops againe.' (Premonition to the Apology for the Oath of Allegeance, pp. 44-5.)"

To what extent the youthful Prince, who, on the appearance of the revised edition, had only just completed his tenth year, was able to appreciate all the wise and worldly counsels contained in the work, is a matter of conjecture; but it is unquestionable that his understanding was precocious. He had been judiciously placed, from infancy, under the immediate guardianship of the Countess Dowager of Mar and her son John Erskine, the seventh Earl of Mar, who was for this service created Lord Cardross, with a grant of lands attached to the title; and

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he had the addition, at a very early age, of an excellent tutor, Adam Newton, whose services were recognised and duly rewarded, from his first appointment in 1595, to the end of his life. In 1606 Newton attained the great object of his ambition, being installed Dean of Durham, and in 1620 he was advanced to the dignity of a baronet. He died in 1629, at Charlton, in Kent, where on his tomb is a long and laudatory inscription to his memory.

That King James I. was more indebted for his peaceful accession to the throne of England to his political intrigues with the Ministers of Queen Elizabeth than to the merits of his book, may be judged of from the following facts:—

The persons of most influence in the Court of England had long been in private correspondence with their future Sovereign, and were careful to assure him that their respective partisans were deeply interested in his favour. Sir Robert Cecil, Secretary of State, was at the head of the most powerful of these parties, and by his wily management he not only concealed his frequent communications with Scotland from the Queen, but procured the separate co-operation of a large portion of the nobility in favour of the King, each being kept in ignorance of what the rest had promised. The Earls of Essex and Northumberland, and some others, were also actively employed in intrigues of this nature. An interesting account of these transactions will be found in a volume published by the Camden Society (vol. 78), edited by the late John Bruce,

1861, entitled "Correspondence of K. James VI. of Scotland with Sir Robert Cecil and others in England, during the reign of Q. Elizabeth; with an Appendix containing papers illustrative of transactions between K. James and Robert Earl of Essex: principally published for the first time from MSS. of the Marquis of Salisbury, preserved at Hatfield."



EDITIONS OF THE "BASILICON DORON."

TUMEROUS editions of the "Basilicon Doron" appeared after the King's accession. Of the authorised and enlarged edition of Edinburgh, 1603, three reprints appeared in London in that year; besides extracts from it, one of the latter, entitled "A Princes Looking Glasse," being in Latin and English verse by W. Willymatt, printed at Cambridge, 1603, 4to. Epitome of the work, dated 13th July, 1603, appears among the MSS. in the Harleian collection. A manuscript copy is recorded in Casley's Catalogue of MSS., page 278, as being in the old Royal Library in the British Museum. A Latin translation was printed by the King's printer, John Norton, in 1604, 8vo. It was turned into Latin quatrains by Henry Peacham, and ornamented with emblematical figures, but it remains in MS. in the old Royal collection in the British Museum, which also possesses a translation into Italian by John Florio. A translation into French by J. Hotman, Seigneur de Villiers, appeared in 1603, reprinted in 1604. At the end of this second edition is a curious notice by the printer that there were counterfeit editions abroad, but that this, with the portrait of the King of England, was the genuine book, and his exclusive property. A fragment of another French translation is mentioned in the Calendars of State Papers; Domestic Series, 1603-10 (James I., vol. 1). A Swedish translation was printed in 1606

One of the facsimiles in the present volume represents a portion of a page from an unpublished French translation, in the autograph of LOUIS SERVIN, Avocat-Général to Parliament, under Henry III. and IV. and Louis XIII. It is now in the collection of Sir Charles E. Isham, Bart., Lamport Hall, Northamptonshire.

The famous Jesuit writer, James Gretser, well known for his writings against the Protestants, published in 1610, 4to., a book with this title, "Basilikon Doron, sive Commentarius exegeticus in Ser. Magnæ Britanniæ Regis Præfationem monitoriam, et in Apologiam pro Juramento Fidelitatis."

Special Notice.

IT has been generally believed that only one copy of the original edition of the Βασιλικον Δωρον, Edinburgh, 1599, that in the Grenville Collection in the British Museum, has come down to us; but the present writer is in a position to affirm, from his own personal knowledge, that a second copy was in the possession of the late Right Hon. Sir David Dundas, of the Temple, London, and which, on his decease in 1877, passed by will, with his other books, to the Hon. Charles Howard. On the latter's death it became, we believe, the property of the present Earl of Carlisle.

NOTE ON THE TYPOGRAPHY, ETC., OF THE VOLUME.

THE original edition is in small 4to, with wide margins, which give it a handsome appearance. It is printed in a large Italic type, which was in constant use at that time by French printers. In the present reprint these types have been imitated as nearly as possible, and many letters of peculiar formation have been expressly cast for the purpose. Each page is an accurate reflex of the original, lineatim, verbatim, et literatim, even to palpable errors, which, however, as can be seen below, are very few.

The Title-page, Ornamental Letters, and Typographical Ornaments have been reproduced in facsimile by the skilful hands of Mr. J. A. BURT.

Special thanks are due to Mr. E. M. THOMPSON, Keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum, for the facilities afforded for the reproduction (by the autotype process) of a page of the original Autograph MS. therein preserved; to Mr. G. Bullen, F.S.A., Keeper of the Printed Books, in the same grand National Repository; and last, though not least, to Sir Charles E. Isham, Bart., for the loan of his valuable French translation of the work, for the purpose of decorating the present volume by a second facsimile.

CORRIGENDA.

"To the Reader page xxiii, line 24: for condemned read condemned.

Page 119, line 14: for alterem read alteram.

19 " CYVRS CYRVS. 124 vsed. 135 12 ved " of of ,, 9-10 of. 138 " selu 6 selves. 147 " the their. 150 15

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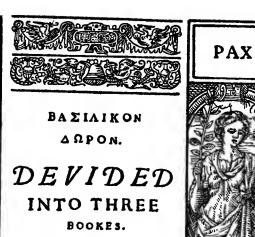
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FACSIMILE OF A PORTION OF A PAGE OF THE ORIGINAL AUTOGRAPH MANUSCRIPT OF KING JAMES I. IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

FACSIMILE OF PART OF A PAGE OF AN UNRECORDED FRENCH TRANSLA-TION OF THE SECOND EDITION OF THE "BASILICON DORON," EDIN-BURGH, 1603, BY LOUIS SERVIN, AVOCAT-GÉNÉRAL TO PARLIAMENT, UNDER HENRY III. AND IV., AND LOUIS XIII.

at in crafte to take of Sharry counter of evenir man in his office. I now the lains I wolde have you to be well wersid in and rentite histories & Speciallie in the cromiches of all natrions, I meane not of sice insumouse incessives as buchananisor Vnot is is croniche for gif any of the se infamous ly bellis remaine gubilly ware dans use the law export the Vajairi thaines for in that pointe Jualde son a promagoriste so shinke that the spreirs of shaise grandibellisis of rebellion are stiend inco chaime chas boordes chaire books at manainis chaire opinion yunishing thame every as it waive they resin againe, but weiding of authorist histories & cronicks so Sall corne experience be theoriff affing the by yeste things to the present estate quia withit nunc divi aut sieri potest gased non dictum & Sacram Sie pring Sice is the continenall uslubilities of things earthing according to the roundres of the nar ble & wolubilisie of the nearing circles guliche is esc. grasid we the gubeilis in exectricle insion of becommen fixed by the poetis in rote for ame & # le te veres be the thankedge of histories, re Sall than how to be large your sels to all ampassadouris & Serain ger's being able to discourse with tharme upon the estains of their are in currere, as sor the studie of other liberal aireis & Sevenes Juste have you reasonable versit into thains but not may







PRINTED BY RO.

bertWalde-grave Prin.

ter to the Kings

Majestic. 1599.







THE DEDICATION of the booke.

SONET.

O heere (my Sonne) a mirrour viue and faire,
Which sheweth the shaddow of a worthy King.
Lo heere a Booke, a patterne doth you bring
Which ye should preasse to follow mair and maire.
This trustie friend, the trueth will neuer spaire,
But giue a good aduice vnto you heare:
How it should be your chiefe and princely care,
To follow vertue, vice for to forbeare.
And in this Booke your lesson will ye leare,
For guiding of your people great and small.
Then (as ye ought) giue an attentiue eare,
And panse how ye these preceptes practise shall.
Your father bids you studie here and reede.
How to become a persite King indeede.





THE ARGUMENT of the booke.

SONNET.

Gods in vaine,
For on his throne his Scepter do they swey:
And as their subiects ought them to obey,
So Kings should feare and serve their God againe.
If then ye would enioy a happie raigne,
Observe the Statutes of your Heavenly King;
And from his Lawe make all your Lawes to spring:
Since his Lieutenant heare ye should remaine.
Reward the iust, be steadfast, true, and plaine:
Represse the proud, maintaining ay the right,
Walke alwaies so, as ever in his sight
Who guardes the godly, plaging the prophaine,
And so ye shall in princely vertues shine.
Resembling right your mighty King divine.





TO HENRIE MY DEAREST SONNE AND NATVRAL

SVCCESSOVR.



HOME - TO

can fo rightly appertein
this booke,
of the Institution of a
Prince in all
the poyntes
of his calling, as well
generall (as
a Christian towardes
God) as particuler (as a

King towardes his people?) whom-to (I say) can it so justlie apperteine, as vnto you my dearest Sonne? Since I the author thereof as your naturall Father, must be carefull for your godlie and vertuous education as my eldest Sonne, and the first fruites of Gods blessing towards me in my posteritie: And (as a King) must timouslie prouide for your training vp in all the poyntes of a Kinges office

THE EPISTLE.

office (fince ye are my naturall and lawfull Succesfour therein) that (being rightly informed hereby of the weight of your burthen) yee may in time begin to consider, that being borne to be a King, ye are rather borne to ONVS, then HONOS: not excelling all your people fo far in rank and honour, as in daylie care and hazardous paines-taking, for the duetifull administration of that greate office that God hath layde vpon your shoulders: laying so a just symmetrie and proportion, betuixt the height of your honourable place, and the heauie weight of your great charge: and consequentlie incase of failzie (which God forbid) of the sadnes of your fall, according to the proportion of that I have therefore (for the greater ease to your memorie, and that ye may at the first, cast vp any part that ye haue to doe with) deuided this whole booke in three partes. The first teacheth you your duty towards God as a Christian: The next your duetie in your office as a King: And the third teacheth you how to behave your felfe in indifferent things, which of themselves are neither right nor wrong, but according as they are rightly or wrong vsed: & yet wil serue (according to your behauiour therein) to augment or impair your fame and authoritie at the hands of your people. Receive and welcome this booke then, as a faithfull præceptour and counsellour vnto you: which (because my affaires will not permit me euer to be present with you) I ordaine to be a refident faithfull admonisher of you. And because the houre of death is vncertaine to me (as vnto all flesh

THE EPISTLE.

flesh) I leaue it as my Testament, & latter wil vnto you: charging you in the presence of God, and by the fatherly authority I have over you, that ye keepe it euer with you, as carefullie as ALEXAN-DER did the *lliades* of HOMER. Ye wil find it a just and impartial counsellour, neither flattering you in any vice, nor importuning you at vnmeete times: It will not come vncald, nor speake vnspeared at: and yet conferring with it when ye are quiet, ye shal say with SCIPIO, that year Nunquam minus solus, quàm cùm solus. To conclude then, I charge you (as euer ye think to deserve my fatherly blessing) to follow and put in practife (as farre as lyeth in you) the precepts hereafter following: and if yee follow the contrair course, I take the greate GOD to recorde, that this booke shall one day be a witnes betwixt me and you, and shall procure to bee ratified in heauen, the curse that in that case here I giue you; for I protest before that great God, I had rather be not a Father and child-leffe, nor be a Father of wicked children. But (hoping, yea euen promissing vnto my selfe, that God who in his greate bleffing fent you vnto mee, shall in the same blesfing, as he hath giuen me a Sonne, so make him a good and a godlie sonne, not repenting him of his mercy shewen vnto me) I end this preface, with my earnest prayer to God, to worke effectually into you, the fruits of that bleffing which here from my hearte, I bestow vpon you.

Finis.

B ANENT



ANENT A KINGS CHRI-STIAN DVETIE TO-WARDS GOD.

THE FIRST BOOKE.



S Hee can not bee thought worthie to rule & command others, that cannot rule and dantone his owne

proper affections & vnreasonable appetites; so can he not be thought worthy to gouerne a Christian people, knowing & fearing God, that in his own person and hart feareth not, and loueth not the Diuine Majestie. Neither can anie thing in his gouernement succeed well with him (deuise and labour as he list) as comming from a filthie spring, if his per-

Pfalm person be Insanctified: for (as DAVID saith) In vaine watchest thou the Citie, or buyldest thou the house, if the Lord by his blessing grant not successe therunto; & as PAVL faith, CEPHAS may plant, & APOLLO may water, but it is God only that may give the increase. Therefore (my Sonne) first of al things, learne to know and love that God, whomto ye haue a double obligation; first, for that he made you a man; and next, for that he made you a little God to sit on his Throne, & rule ouer other men. Remember, that as in dignity he hath erected you aboue others, so ought ye in thankfulnesse towardes him go as farre beyond all others. A moate in anothers eye, is a beame into youres: a blemishe in another, is a leprouse byle into you: and a venial sinne (as

(as the Papists call it) in another is a greate crime into you. Thinke not therefore, that the highnes of your dignity diminisheth your faults (much les giueth you a licence to sin) but by the contrarie, your faulte shalbe aggrauated according to the height of your dignitie, any sin that ye commit not being a single sinne procuring but the fal of one; but being an examplare sinne, and therefore draweth with it the whole multitude to be guyltie of the same. Remember then, that this glistering worldlie glorie of Kings is giuen them by God, to teach them to preasse so to glister and shine before their people in all works of sanctification and righteousnes, that their persones as bright lampes of godlines and vertue, maye (going in and out before their people) giue

giue light to all their steps. Remember also, that by the right knowledge, and fear of God (which is the beginning of ** wisedome (as SALOMON saith) ye shall know all the things necessarie for the discharge of your duety, both as a Christian & as a King, seeing in him (as in a mirrour) the course of al earth-lie things, whereof he is the spring & onely moouer.

Now, the onely way to bring you to this knowledge, is diligently to read his word, & earnestly to pray for the right *Ioh. 5. Vnderstāding thereof: *Search the scriptures (saith Christ) for they wil bear te*2 Tim. stimony of me: And * the whole Scriptures (saith PAVL) are prositable to teach, to improoue, to correct, & to instruct in righteousnes, that the man of God may be absolute, being made persit vnto

vnto al good works. I ioyne to this, the careful hearing of the doctrine with attendance and reverence: For * faith *Rom. tendance and reverence: For * faith *Rom. to meth by hearing (faith PAVL) But above al, beware ye thraw not the word to your appetite, (as over-many doe) making it like a bell to founde as ye pleafe to interpret: but by the contrarie, frame all your affections to follow precifely the rules there set downe.

The whole Scripture contayneth but two things: a command, and a prohibition; to doe such thinges, and abstaine from the contrarie. Obey in both; neither thinke it ynough to abstaine from euill and doe no good: nor thinke not that if yee doe many good thinges it may serue you for a cloake to mixe euill turnes there-with. And as in thir two poyntes the whole Scripture

con-

consisteth, so, in two degrees standeth the whole service of GOD by man: Interior, or vp-warde; Exterior, or downeward: the first, by prayer in faith towards God; the next, by works slowing therefra before the worlde, which is nothing els but the exercise of Religion towardes God, and of æquitie towards your neighbour.

As for the particular poyntes of Religion, I neede not to delate them; I am no hypocrite, follow your Fathers foote-steppes and your owne education therein. I thanke God, I was neuer a-shamed to give accounte of my profession, how-so-ever the malitious lying tongues of some have traduced me: of my conscience had not resolved me, that al my Religion was grounded vp-pon the plaine words of the Scripture,

I had neuer outwardly avowed it, for pleasure or awe of the vaine pride of some sedicious Preachours.

And as for the poyntes of equitie towards your neighbour (because that will fall in properlie upon the second parte concerning a Kinges office) I leave it to the owne roome.

For the first part then of mans seruice to his God (which is Religion) that is, The worship of God according to his revealed will, It is wholie grounded vpon the Scripture (as I have alreadie saide) quickened by Faith, and conserved by Conscience. For the Scripture, I have alreadie spoken of it in general: but that ye may the more readely make choise of any part thereof for your instruction or comforte, remember onely this methode.

The

The whole scripture is dited by Gods Spirit, thereby (as by his liuely word) to instruct and rule the whole Church militant, till the end of the worlde. It is composed of two parts, the Olde and New Testament. The ground of the former is the Law, which sheweth our sinne and conteyneth justice. The grounde of the other is Christ, who pardoning sinne contayneth Grace. The summe of the Lawe is the ten Commandes, more largelie dilated in the Lawe, interpreated by the Prophets: and by the histories are the examples showen of obedience or disobedience thereto, and what præmium or pœna was accordingly giuen by God. But because no man was able to keepe the Lawe, nor anie parte thereof, it pleased God of his infinite wisedome and and goodnesse, to incarnate his one-lie Sonne in our nature, for satisfaction of his justice in his suffering for us: that since we coulde not bee saued by doing, wee might (at least) be saued by beleeuing. The grounde therefore of the Lawe of Grace, is so Mar. contayned in the foure histories of the S. Mar. birth, life, death, and resurrection of s. Ioh. Christ.

The larger interpretation of this Law, is contained in the Epiftles of the Apostles: and the practise in the faithful or unfaithful, together with their rewarde or punishement according thereto, is contayned in the Actes of the Apostles.

Would yee then know your sin by the Law? reade the bookes of MOY-SES contayning it: would yee haue a comcommentarie thereupon? Reade the Prophets: would ye see, how good-men are rewarded, and wicked punished? look the histories of GENESIS, EXODUS, IOSVA, the IVDGES, IOB, and ESTER, but especialie the bookes of the KINGS, and CHRONICLES, wherewith ye ought to be familiarlie acquaynted: for there will ye see yourselfe (as in a mirrour) either among the Catalogues of the good or euill Kings.

Would ye know the life and death of Christ? looke the Euangelists. Would ye be more particularlie trayned up in his schoole? meditat upon the Epistles of the Apostles: and would ye be acquaynted with the practizes of that doctrine in the persons of the Primitive Church? Cast up the Apostles

Acts. As to the Apocriphe bookes, I omit them because I am no Papist (as I said before) & indeed some of them are as like the ditement of the spirite of God, as an Egge is to an Oyster.

But when ye read the Scripture, read it with a sanctified & chast eare: admire reverently such obscure places as yee understand not, blaming onelie your owne incapacitie; read with delite the playne places; and studie carefullie to vnderstand those that are somewhat difficile: preasse to be a good textuare, for the Scripture is euer the best interpreter of itselfe. But preasse not curiouslie to seeke out farther nor is contayned therein, for that were misnurtured presumption, to strive to be farther upon Gods secreats nor he hath will ye be: for what he thought needneedfull for us to know, that hath hee reuealed there. And delite most in reading such partes of Scripture as may best serve for your instruction in your calling, rejecting foolish curiosities vpon numbers & genealogies, which are but vain & profit not (as PAVL saith)

Titus

Now, as to Faith which is the intertayner & quickner of Religion (as I haue els said) It is a sure persuasion and apprehension of the promises of God, applying them to your soule: and therefore may it justlie be called, The golden chaine that linketh the faithful Soule to Christ: And because it groweth not in our garden, but is the free Philip gift of God (as * PAVLL fayth) It must be nourished by praier, which is no thing els but A fredly talking with god. Use oft to pray when ye ar quietest, espe-

Specially in your bed: for publik praier Serueth more for example (for the most part) then for any particuler comfort to the Supplicant. In your praier, be nether over strange with God (like the ignorant common fort, that prayeth nothing but out of bookes) nor yet ouerbomely with him (like som of our vain proud puritanes, that thinke they rule him upon their fingers.) The former way will breede an vncouth coldnes in you towards him: the other wil breed in you a cotempt of him: but in your praier to God, speak with al reverence, for if a subject wil not speak but reverently to a king, much les should any flesh presume to crak with God as with his companion.

Craue in your prayer, not onelie thinges spirituall but corporall, whiles

4 things

thinges of greater, and whiles of leffe consequence, that yee may laye vp in store his grant of these things for confirmation of your faith: and to be an arles-pennie vnto you of his loue. Praie, as ye finde your heart moueth you pro re nata: but see that ye sute no vnlawfull thinges, as reuenge, luste, or such like: for that prayer can not come of faith, and prayer without faith is Rom. 14.23. Sinne (as *PAVL Saith). When ye obteyne your prayer, thank him joyfully therefore; if otherwaies, beare patientlie, preassing to win him with importunitie as the *Widdow did Christ: and if notwithstanding thereof yee bee not heard, assure your selfe God fore-seeth that which ye aske is not for your weal: and learn in time so to enterprete all the adversities that God shall sende vnto

vnto you, so shall ye in the middest of them not only be armed with patience, but ioyfully lift vp your eyes from the present trouble, to the happie end that God will turne it to: and when ye sinde it once so fall out by proofe, arme your selfe with the experience thereof against the next trouble, assuring your selfe (although you cannot in time of the showre see through the cloud, yet) in the ende, ye will finde God sent it for your weill, as ye found in the former.

And as for Conscience (which I called the conserver of Religion) It is nothing els but the light of knowledge that God hath planted in man; which choppeth him with a feeling that hee hath done wrong, when ever he committeth any sinne: Surely, although this Conscience be a greate torture to

the wicked, yet it is as great a comfort to the godlie, if wee will consider it rightlie. For haue we not a greate advantage that haue within our selues while wee live here, a count booke and Inuentarie of all the crymes that wee will be accused of, either at the houre of our death, or at the greate day of iudgement; which when wee please (yea if wee forget) it will choppe, and remember vs to looke upon, that while wee haue leasure and are here, we may remember to amende, and so at the daye of our tryall, compeere with new & white garments washen in the Reu. 7. blood of the Lambe (as Saint IOHN sayeth) Aboue all then (my Sonne) labour, to keepe sounde this Conscience which manie prattle of, but ouer-fewe feele: especiallye be carefull to keepe it

it free from two diseases, which it vseth oft to bee infected with, to witte,
Leaprosie, and Superstition: the
former is the mother of Atheisme: the
other of Heresies. By a Leaprouse
Conscience, I meane; a cauterized conscience (as PAVLL calleth it) being the
become senselesse of sinne, through sleeping in a carelesse securitie, as King
DAVIDS was, after his murther
and Adulterie, aye while he was wakned by the prophet NATHANS similitude. And for superstition, the
worde it selse is plaine ynough, being
vocabulum artis.

As for a Preservative against this Leaprosie, remember ever once in the foure and twentie houres, either in the night, or when yee are at greatest quiet, to call your selfe to accounte

of

of all your laste dayes actiones, either wherein ye haue committed thinges ye shoulde not, or omitted the thinges ye should doe, either in your Christiane or kinglie calling: & in that account, let not your selfe be smoothed ouer with that flattering φιλαυτία, (which is ouer kindlie a sicknes to al mankinde) but censure your selfe as sharplie as if yee were your owne enemie: For if yee judge your selfe, ye shall not be judged ^{1 Cor.}
_{11.31.} (as PAVLL sayth:) and syne according to your censure, reforme your actions as far as ye may; eschewing euer wilfully & willingly to contrare your Conscience: for a small sinne wilfullie committed, with a deliberate resolution to breake the bridle of Conscience therein, is far greeuouser before God, then a greater sinne committed in a sudsuddaine passion, when Conscience is a sleepe. Remember therefore in al your actions of the great account that yee are one daie to make: in all the dayes of your life ever learning to die, and living everye daye as it were youre last;

*Omnem crede diem tibi diluxisse supremum.

And therefore I would not have you to praye with the Papistes, to be preserued from suddaine death, but that God would give you grace so to live, as yee may everie houre of your life be ready for death: so shall yee atteyne to the vertue of true Fortitude, never being affraide for the horror of death, come when hee list: and especiallie, beware to offend your conscience with vse of swearing or lying (suppose but in mowes:)

for oathes are but an vse, and a sinne clothed with no delite nor gaine, and therefore inexcusable before God: and lying commeth also much of a vyle vse by bannishing shame: therefore beware euen to denie the trueth, which is a sorte of lye that may best be eschewed by a person of your rank: for if anything be speered at you that yee thinke not meete to reueale, if yee saie, that question is not pertinent for them to speere, who dare examine you further? & vsing this answer whiles both in true & false things that wil be speered at you, these misnurtured people will neuer be the wiser thereof.

And for keeping your Conscience sound from that siknes of Superstition, which is called Morbus animi, yee muste neither laye the safetie of your Consci-

ence

ence vpon the credit of your owne conceits, nor yet of other mens humours, how great Doctors of Divinity that even they be: but ye must only ground it vpon the expresse Scripture: for Conscience not grounded vpon sure knowledge, is either an ignorante fantasie, or an arrogant glaikerie. Beware therefore in this case with two extreamities: th'one, to believe (with the Papistes) The Churches authoritie, better nor your owne knowledge: th'other, to leane (with the Anabaptists) to your own conceites & dreamed revelations.

But learne wifely to discerne betwixt poyntes of saluation and indisserent thinges, betuixt substance and ceremonies; & betuixt the expresse commandemente and will of God in his word, & the invention or ordinance of man;

man; fince al that is necessarie for saluation is contayned in the Scripture: for in anything that is expresslye commanded or prohibited in the booke of God, ye cannot be ouer precise euen in the least thing, counting every sin (not according to the light estimation and common vse of it in the world) but as the book of God couteth of it: but as for all other things not contayned in the scripture, spare not to vse or alter them as the necessitie of the time shall require. And when any of the spiritual office-bearers in the Church, speaketh vnto you anything that is wel warranded by the worde, reuerence and obeye them as the Heraulds of the most high God: but (if passing that bounds) they would urge you to embrace anye of their fantasies in place of Gods word,

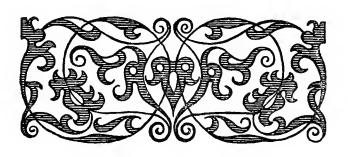
or would colour their particulars with a pretended zeale, acknowledge them for vaine people passing the boundes of their calling; and (according to your office) grauely and with authoritie redact them in ordour againe.

To conclude then, both this purpose of Conscience, and the first part of this booke; Keepe God sparinglie in your mouth, but aboundantlie in your hart. Be precise in effect, but sociall in shew. Kyth more by your deeds nor by your wordes the love of vertue and hatred of vice: and delite more to be godlie and vertuous in deed, nor to bee thought and called so; expecting more for your praise and rewarde in heaven nor heere: and apply to all your outward actions Christes commande,

 \mathcal{L}

to give almes secretly: so shall yee on the one parte be inwardly garnished with true Christian humilitie, not outwardly (with the proud Pharisie) glorying in your godlinesse: but saying (as Christ commandeth vs all) when wee Luke 17.10. have done all that we can, Invtiles servi sumus: and on the other parte, yee shall eschew outwardly before the world, the suspicion of silthie proude hypocrise and deceitfull dissimulation.

(::)



Du Debuoix Dun Hoy En son office. Libuxe second.

- ais tout amon comme Nous estes vistu auce deus vocations, am sp vous debnos auoir Som de vous acquiter de l'une et lautre, que commo vous Estes bon Chrestin aussy vous Soie Lon Roz Satisfaisam a vostre charge es pointsqui regardens la Justice et concernent l'équits. Comme ie vous ay monstre cydenant/cequi debuez favoi par dens duiers moisis, L'etpre mide faifam de Bonnes Logice parmy vostre Deuple et les faisan Scercer Et mettre L'execution, Eexecution estam la vio plat mi polis. de la Log 1. Lautre par vos moseurs en vostre Foer. in Sym. persone en celle de vos Serniteurs Car le peuple Plat. m polis. lest naturelement Sochmi Comme Les Singes) a contrefaire les moeurs de son Prince conformiment a ce notable propos de Platon exprime par le Potte Clandian. Ce monde de forme a Lexisople du Roy en les Edits nom pas tam de pounoir de flochir es gounerner les Sens humains que la vie de celuy -Componitur or 618 Regis ad exemplum, nec sir Inflectere sen sus Humanos Edicta Valent, quam vita Regiontis.

PORTION OF A PAGE OF AN UNRECORDED FRENCH TRANSLATION OF THE SECOND EDITION

OF THE BAΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ OF K. James I., (Edinb. 1603). Facsimiled by permission of Sir Charles E. Isham, Bart., the possessor, from the Autograph M.S.

OF THE TRANSLATOR, LOUIS SERVIN, Avocat-Général to I

Henry III. and IV. and Louis XIII.



ANENT A KINGS DVETIE IN HIS OFFICE.

THE SECONDE BOOKE.

Ot as yee are clothed with two callings, so must ye be alike carefull for the discharge of them both: that as

ye are a good Christian, so ye may be a good King, discharging your office (as I shewed before) in the poynts of justice and æquitie: which in two sundry waies ye must do: the one, in establishing and executing (which is the life of the lawe) good lawes among your people: the other, by your behaviour in your owne

owne person and with your servantes, to teach your people by your example; for people are naturallie inclyned to counterfaite (like Apes) their Princes maners, according to that old verse Regis ad exemplum &c.

For the part of making and executing of laws, consider first the true difference betwixt a lawfull good King, and an vsurping Tyrant: & ye shal the more easelie vnderstande your duetie herein, for Contraria contrariis opposita magis illucescunt. The one acknowlegeth himself ordeined for his people, having received from God a burthen of governement whereof he must be countable: The other thinketh his people ordeyned for him, a praye to his appetites, as the fruites of his magnanimitie; and therefore, as their endes are

directly contrarie, so ar their whole actiones (as middeses) whereby they preasse to attayne to their endes: A good King (thinking his highest honour to confist in the due discharge of his calling) employeth all his studie and paines, to procure and mainteine (by the making and execution of good lawes) the well-fare and peace of his people, and (as their naturall father and kindly maister) thinketh his greatest contentment standeth in their prosperitie, and his greatest suretie in hauing their hearts, subjecting his owne private affections and appetites to the weill and standing of his subjects, euer thinking the common interesse his cheifest particular: where by the contrary, an vsurping Tyrante (thinking his greatest honour and felicitie to consist

in atteyning per fas, vel nefas, to his ambitious pretenses) thinketh neuer him self sure, but by the dissention and factions among his people, & counterfaiting the Sainte while he once creepe in credit, will then (by inverting all good lawes to serue onely for his vnrulie priuate affectiones) frame the common-weale euer to advance his particular: buylding his suretie vpon his peoples miserie: and in ende (as a step-father and an uncouth hireling) make up his owne hande uppon the ruines of the Republick. And according to their actiones, so receive they their remarde: For a good Kinge (after a happie and famous reigne) dyeth in peace, lamented by his subjectes, and admyred by his Neighbours; and leaving a reverente renoume

renoume behinde him in earth, obteyneth the crowne of eternall felicitie in Heauen: And although some of them (which falleth out verie rarelie) may bee cutte off by the treason of some vnnaturall Subjectes, yet lyueth their fame after them, and some notable plague misseth neuer to ouer-take the committers, who will bee in-famous to all posteryties: Where by the contrarie, a Tyrantes miserable and in-famous life, armeth in ende his owne subjectes to become his burreaux: And although that rebellion bee euer vnlawfull on their parte, yet is the worlde so wearied of him, that his fall is little meaned by the reste of his subjectes, and but smyled at by his neighboures: And besides the infamous memory he leaueth

leaueth behind him here, and the endlesse paines he susteyneth hereafter, it
oft falleth out, that the committers not
onely escape vnpunished, but farther,
the fact will remaine as allowed by the
law in divers ages thereafter. It is easie then for you (my Sonne) to make a
choise of one of these two sortes of rulers, by following the way of vertue to
establish your standing; yea, in case yee
fell in the high waie, yet should it bee
with the honorable reporte and just regrate of all honest men.

And therefore to returne to my purpose anent the government of your subjectes, by making and putting good lawes to execution, I remit the making of them to your owne discretion, as yee shall finde the necessitie of new-rising corruptions to require them: for Ex

malis moribus bonæ Leges: besides, that in this country we have alreadie mo good lawes then are well execute, and am onely to insist in your forme of gouernment anent their execution: onely remember, that as Parliaments are onlie ordeined for making of Laws, so abuse yee not their constitution, in holding them for any mens particulars. For as a Parliament is the honorablest and highest judgment in the land (as being the Kings head Court) if it bee well vsed, which is by making of good lawes in it; so is it the injustest judgementseate that may bee, being abused to mens particulars: irreuocable decreits against particulare parties being giuen therein under colour of generall laws, and oftimes the estates not knowing themselues whom therby they hurt:

F And

And therefore hold no Parliamentes but for necessity of new lawes, which would be but seldome; for few lawes & well put in execution, are best in a wel ruled common-weal. As for the matter of forefaltours (which also are done in Parliamente) it is not good tigging with these thinges; but my aduice is, ye fore-faulte none but for such odious crymes as may make them vnworthie euer to bee restored againe: and for smaller offences, ye have other penalties sharpe ynough to be vsed against them.

And as for the executione of good Lawes (where at I lefte) remember that among the differences that I put betuixte the formes of the gouernemente of a good King, and an vsurping Tyrante: I shew how

howe a Tyrante would enter like a Sainte while hee founde him selfe faste vnder-foote, and then woulde suffer his vn-ruelie affectiones to burst foorth: Therefore bee yee contrare at your first entrie to your Kingdome, to yone Quinquennium Neronis, with his tender harted wish, Vtinam nescirem literas, in giuing the lawe full execution against all breakers thereof but exception; for sen yee come not to your Reigne precario, nor by conqueste, but by right and due discente; fear no vp-roares for doing of justice, sen yee may assure your selfe, the moste parte of your people will euer naturallie fauoure justice, providing alwaies, that yee doe it onelie for loue to justice, and not for satisfyinge any partyculare pas-

passiones of youres under coloure thereof: otherwise, how justlie that euer the offender deserue it, ye are guyltie of murther before God: for yee must consider, that God euer looketh to your inwarde intention in all your And when yee haue by the actiones. Seueritie of Justice once setled your countries, and made them knowe that ye can strike, then may ye thereafter al the dayes of your life mixe justice with mercie, punishing or sparing, as ye shal finde the crime to have bene wilfullie or rashly committed, and according to the by-past behauiour of the committer: for if otherwise ye kithe your clemencie at the first, the offences woulde foone come to fuch heapes, and the contempt of you grow so great, that when ye would fall to punish, the number of them

them to be punished would exceed the punishers, and ye would be troubled to resolve whom at to begin, and (against your nature) would be compelled then to wrak manie, which the chastisement of sewe in the beginning might have preserved: but in this, my over-deare cost experience may serve you for a sufficient lesson: for I confesse, where I thought (by being gracious at the beginning) to winne al mens hearts to a louing and willing obedience, I by the contrarie sounde, the disorder of the cuntrie and the tinsell of my thankes to be all my rewarde.

But as this severe justice of yours oppon all offences would be but for a time (as I have alreadie saide) so is there some horrible crymes that yee are bounde in Conscience never to

forgiue: Such as Witch-crafte, wilfull-murther, Incest (especiallie within the degrees of consanguinitie) Sodomie, Poysoning, and false coyne: as
for treason against your owne persone or authoritie, (sen the faulte
concerneth your selfe) I remitte
to your owne choise to punish or pardone therein as your hearte serueth
you, and according to the circumstances of the turne and the quality of the
committer.

Here would I also eike an other crime to be unpardonable, if I would not be thought partial: but the fatherlie loue I beare you, wil make me break the bounds of shame in opening it unto you. It is the, the unreverent writing or speaking of your Parents and Predecesfours: ye know the commande in Gods law

law, *Honour your father & mother: *Exod. 20.112. & consequently (sen ye are the lawful magistrat) suffer not both your Princes and your parents to be dishonored by any: I graunt we have al our faults, which (prinatly betuixt you & God) should serve you for examples to meditate vpon and mende in your person, but should not bee a matter of discours to others; sen ye are come of as honorable Predecessoures as any Prince lyuing, Sepeliatur fynagoga cum honore: and I praye you, how can they loue you that hate them whome of yee are come? Wherefore destroye men innocent younge sucking Wolves and Foxes? but for the hatred they beare to their race: and why will a coult of a courser of Naples give a greater price in a market then an Affe-colt, hut

but for love of the father: it is therefore a thing monstrous, to see a man love the child and hate the Parents. And for conclusion of this poynt, I may also alleadge my owne experience, for besides the iudgments of God that with my eyes I have seene fal vp= on all them that were chief traytoures to my Parents, I may justlie affirme, I neuer founde yet a constant byding by me in all my straites, by any that were of perfite age in my Parentes daies, but onely by such as constantlie bode by them, I meane speciallie, by them that served the Queen my Mother: for so that I discharge my Conscience to you (my Son) in reuealing you the trueth, I care not what any traytour or treason allower thinke of it.

And although the cryme of opprespression be not in this ranke of unpardonable crymes, yet the over-common vse of it in this nation, as if it were a vertue (especially by the greatest rank of subjectes in the land) requireth the King to be a sharpe censurer thereof. Be diligent therefore to trie, and amfull to beate down the bornes of proud oppressoures: Embrace the quarrell of the poore and distressed as your owne particulare, thinking it your greatest honoure to represse the oppressoures: Care for the pleasure of none, nor spare no paines in your person to see their wronges redressed: And remember of the honorable stile given to my Grandfather, in being called, The poore mans King. And as the most part of a kings office, standeth in deciding that question of Meum, and Tuum, among his subfubiectes; Remember when yee sit in judgement, that the Throne ye sit on is Gods (as King DAVID sayeth) and sway neither to the right hande nor to the left: either louing the riche or pittying the poore: Iustice should bee blinde and freindlesse: It is not there ye should rewarde your friendes nor crosse your enemies.

Here now speaking of oppressoures and of justice, the purpose leadeth mee to speake of Hie-land and Bordoure oppressiones. As for the Hie-landes, I shortly comprehend them all in two sortes of people: the one, That dwelleth in our maine land that are barbarous, and yet mixed with some shew of civilitie: the other, that dwelleth in the Iles and are alluterlie barbares, without any sorte or shew of civilitie.

For

For the first sorte, put straightlie to execution the Lawes made alreadie by mee against their Ouer-lordes and the Chiefes of their clannes, and it will be no difficultie to dantone them. As for the other sorte, thinke no other of them all, then as of Wolues and Wilde Boares: And therefore followe foorth the course that I have begunne, in planting Colonies among them of answerable In-landes subiectes, that within shorte time maye roote them out and plant civilitie in their roomes. But as for the Bordours because I know, if yee injoye not this whole Ile according to Gods right and your lyneall discent, ye will neuer get leaue to brooke this North and barrennest parte thereof, no, not your owne heade where - on the Crowne shuld

shuld stande: I need not in that case trouble you with them, for then they will be the middest of the Ile, and so as easelie ruled as any parte thereof.

And that ye may the readier with wisedome and justice gouerne your subjectes, by knowing what vices they are naturally most inclyned to, as a good Phisitian, who must first knowe what peccant humours his patient naturallie is most subject unto before hee can begin his cure: I shall therefore shortly note onto you the principall faultes that euerie ranke of your people in this country is most subject vnto. And as for England, I will not speake be-gesse of them, neuer having bene among them, althogh I hope in that God who ever favoreth the right, before I die to bee as well acquainted with their

their fashions.

As the whole subiectes of our country (by the auncient and fundamentall pollicie of our Kingdome) are deuided into three estates, so is everie estate hereof generally subject to some special vices (which in a maner by long habitude) are thought rather vertue nor vice among them: not that everie particular man in any of these rankes of men is subject vnto them, Nam nulla regula tam generalis que non patiatur exceptionem, But that I meane, I have found by experience, these vices to have taken greatest holde with these rankes of men.

And first, that I prejudge not the Church of her auncient priviledges, reason would she should have the firste place (for ordoures sake) in this

Catalogue.

The naturall siknesses that have euer troubled and bene the decaye of all the Churches sen the beginning of the worlde, chaunging the Candle-sticke from one to another (as IOHN faith) haue bene Pride, Ambition, and Auarice. And now last, these same infirmities wrought the ouer-throwe of the Popish Church in this cuntry and diuers others. But the reformation of Religion in Scotland being made by a popular tumult & rebellion (as wel appeared by the destruction of our policie) & not proceeding from the Princes ordour (as it did in England) some of our fyerie ministers got such a guyding of the people at that time of confusion, as finding the gust of gouernment Sweet, they begouth to fantasie to them selues

Reuel. 2. 5: selues a Democratik forme of gouernment; and hauing (by the iniquitie of time) bene ouer-well baited ppon the wrak, first of my Grand-mother, and Syne of my own mother; & after vsurping the liberty of the time in my long minoritie, setled themselves so fast ppon that imagined Democracie, as they fed themselves with that hope to become Tribuni plebis: and so in a popular gouernement by leading the people by the nose, to beare the sway of all the rule. And for this cause, there never rose faction in the time of my minority, nor trouble sen-syne, but they were euer vpon the wrong end of it; quarrel ling me (not for any euil or vice in me) but because I was a King, which they thoght the highest euil: & because they wer ashamed to profes this quarel, they were

were busie to looke narrowlie in al my actiones; and I warrant you a moat in my eye, yea, a false reporte was matter ynough for them to worke vpon: and yet (for all their cunning) some of them would whiles snapper out well groselie with the trueth of their intentiones; informing the people, That all Kings and Princes were naturally enemies to the liberty of the Church, and could neuer patiently beare the yoke of Christ (with such sounde doctrine fed they their flocke:) And because there was ever some learned & honest men of the Ministrie, that were ashamed of the presumption of these sedicious people, there could be no waie founde out so meete for maynteyning their plottes, as Paritie in the Church: whereby the ignorantes were

were emboldened (as bairdes) to crie the learned, godlie, and modest out of it; Paritie, the mother of confusion & enemie to Vnitie, which is the mother of ordour; by the example whereof in the Ecclesiasticall gouernement, they think (with time) to draw the politick and civil government to the like. Take heede therefore (my Sonne) to these Puritanes, verie pestes in the Church and common-weill of Scotland; whom (by long experience) I have found, no desertes can oblish, oathes nor promises binde, breathing nothing but sedition and calumnies aspiring without measure, rayling without reason, and making their own imaginations (without any warrant of the Worde) the square of their Conscience. I protest before the great God (and sen I am here vpon

vpon my Testament, it is no place for me to lye in) that I neuer founde with anie Hie-land or Bordour thieues so greate ingratitude, and so many lyes & vile perjuries, as I haue found with some of them: and suffer not the principalles of them to brooke your lande if ye like to sit at rest: except yee would keepe them for trying your patience, as Socrates did an euill wife: And for preseruatiue against their poyson, interteine and aduance the godlie learned, and modest men of the ministerie, whom of (God be praysed) there lacketh not a reasonable number: And by their prefermente to Bishopprickes and Benefices (annulling that vile Acte of Annexation if yee finde it not done to your hande) yee shall not onelie bannish their Paritie (which cancan not agree with a Monar-chie) but yee shall also reestablishe the olde institution of three Estates in Parliament, which can no otherwaise bee done: but in this I hope (if God spare mee dayes) to make you a faire entrie; alwaies where I leave, follow yee my foote-steppes: And the first that raileth against you, punishe with the rigour of the lawe; for I have else in my dayes bursten them with o-uer-much reason.

And to end my aduice anent the Church state, cherish no man more then a good pastor: hate no man more then a proud puritane, thinking it one of your fairest styles, to bee called A louing Nurish-Father to the Church, seeing all the Churches within your dominions planted with good Pastoures:

2

the doctrine and discipline maynteined in puritie according to Gods word, a sufficient provision for their sustentation; a comely ordour in their policie: pride punished, humilitie aduanced: and they so to reverence their superiours, and their flockes them, as the florishing of your Church in pietie, peace, and learning, may be one of the chiefe poyntes of your earthlie glorie, being euer alike war with both the extreamities, as well as ye represse the vaine Puritane, so not to suffer proud Papall Bishoppes: but as some for their qualities will deserue to be preferred before others, so chaine them with such bonds as may preserve that estate from creeping to corruption.

The next estate now that by order commeth in purpose, according to their

their rankes in Parliament, is the Nobilitie, although second in rank, yet ouer-farre first in greatnes and power, either to do good or euil as they are inclyned.

The naturall siknesses that I have perceived this estate subject to in my time, hath bene, a fectles arrogant conceite of their greatnesse and power: drinking in with their verie nurishemilke, that their honour stood in committing three poyntes of iniquitie: To thrall (by oppression) the meaner sort that dwelleth neere them to their feruice and following, although they hold nothing of them: To mainteine their seruants and dependers in any wrong, although they bee not answerable to the lawes (for any body wil mainteine his man in a right cause:) and for any

displeasure that they apprehend to bee done who them by their neighbour, to take wp a plaine feide against him, & (without respect to God, King, or common-weill) to bang it out brauelie, hee and all his kinne against him and all his: yea they will think the King far in their common, in-case they agree to graunt an assurance to a short day for keiping of the peace: where, by their natural duty, they are oblished to obey the Lawe and keepe the peace all the daies of their life, uppon the perrill of their craiges.

For remeid to these euils in their e-state, learne your Nobility to keep your laws as precisely as the meanest: feare not their orping nor taking the pet as long as ye rule well; for their pretended reformation of Princes taketh ne-

uer

neuer effect, but where euill gouernement preceedeth. Acquaint your self so with al the honest men of your Barrones and Gentle-men, as may make them perte to make their owne sutes to you them-selues, without making a bogle of you, in making the greate Lordes their intercessours (for intercession to Saints is Papistry) so shal ye bring to a measure their monstrous backes. And for their barbarous feids, put the lawes to due execution made by mee there-anents, beginning euer rathest at him that yee love beste and is most oblished vnto you, to make him ane example to the reste; For yee shall make all your reformationes to beginne at your Elbowe, and so by degrees to flowe to the extremities of the Lande, and rest not while

while yee roote out these barbarous feides, that their effects may as wel be smoared downe, as their barbarous name is vnknowen to any other nations: for if this treatise were written to you, either in French or Latine, I could not get them named vnto you but by circumlocution: And for your easier abolishing of them, put sharply to execution my lawes made against Gunnes and trayterous Pistolettes, thinking in your heart, tearming in your speach, and vsing by your punishments al such as weare and vse them, as brigandes and cut-throates.

On the other part, eschew the other extreamitie, in lighlying and contemning your Nobilitie: Remember how that errour brake the King my grandfathers hearte: but consider that wer-

tue

tue followeth oftest Noble bloud. The worthines of their antecessours craueth a reverent regard to be had vnto them: honour them therfore that are obedient to the law among them, as Peeres and Fathers of your land: The frequentlier that your Courte can be garnished with them, think it the more your honour, acquenting and employing them in all your greatest affaires, sen it is they must bee your armes and executers of your lawes, and so vse your selfe louinglie to the obedient, and rigorouslie to the stubborne, as may make the greatest of them to thinke, that the chiefest poynt of their honour standeth in striuing with the meanest of the lad in humilitie towardes you, and obedience to your lawes: dinging euer in their eares, that one of the principall poynts

poynts of service that ye crave of them, is, in their persones to practise, and by their power to procure due obedience to the lawe; without the which, no service they can make can bee agreeable onto you.

But the greatest hinder to the execution of our law in this cuntry, ar thir heretable Shiristomes & Regalities, which being in the hands of the great men wracketh the whole country: for which I know no present remedie, but by taking the sharper account of them in their offices, vsing all punishment against the sleuthfull that the lawe will permit: and aye as they vaik for anie offences committed by them, dispone them neuer heretablie againe: preassing (with time) to drawe it to the lowable custome of Englande, which

which yee may the easelier doe being King of both, as I hope in GOD yee shall.

And as to the third & last estate, which is our Burghes (for the small Barronnes are but an inferior part of the Nobilitie and of their estate) Thir Burghes (I saie) are composed of two sorts of men; to wit, Merchants and Craftes—men, euery one of thir sortes being subject to their owne infirmities.

The Merchantes think the whole common-weale ordained for making them vp, & (accounting it their lawful gaine & trade, to enrich them-selues ppon the losse of al the rest of the people) they transporte from vs thinges necessarie, bringing backe whiles punnecessarie and whiles nothinge:

2

They bye for vs the worste wares, and sell them at the dearest prices: and suppose the victualles fall or ryse of their prices, (according to the abundance or skantnes thereof) yet the prices of their wares euer rise but neuer fal according to the Persian laws that can not be abbrogated: & they are the special cause of the corruption of the Coinzie, transporting al our own & bringing in forrayne, vpon what price they please to set on it. For ordour putting to them, put good lawes in execution that are alreadie made anent these abuses: but especially doe three thinges: Establish honest, diligent, but few searchers, (for manie handes make slight worke) and haue an honest and diligent Thesaurer to take count of them: permit & allure forraine merchants,

to trade here, so shall ye have best and best cheepe wares, not bying it at the third hand: and set everie yeare downe a certaine price of all things, considering first, how it is in other countries, the price being set reasonably down, if the merchantes will not bring it home on the price, crie forrainers free to bring it.

And because I have made mention here of the Coinzie, make your Coinzie fine Golde and Silver, and garre the people be payed with substance, on the abused with number; so shall yee enrich the common-weall, and keepe a greate pose to the fore, if yee fall in warres or in any streightes, for the making it baser will breede your commoditie, but it is not to be vsed but at a great necessitie.

And

And the Craftef-men thinke wee should bee content with their worke, howe bad and deare so ever it bee; and (if they in anie thing bee controlled) up must the blewe-blanket goe: but for their parte take example by England, how it hath florished both in wealth and pollicie, sen the strangers Craftes-men came in amonge them: Therefore not onelie permitte, but allure straungers to come here also, taking as straight ordoure for repressinge the mutining of oures at them, as was done in England at their first in-bringing there.

But vnto one faulte is all the common people of this Lande subjecte as well Burgh as Lande, which is, to judge and speake rashelie of their Prince, setting the commonweale

weale uppon foure proppes, (as wee call it) euer weerying of the present estate, and desirous of Nouelties: For remedie whereof (besides the execution of the lawes that would be vsed against vnreuerent speakers) certaine dayes in the yeare would be appoynted, for delighting the people with publick spectacls of al honest games & exercise of armes, as also for conveening of neighbours for enterteyning friendship and hartlinesse, by honest feasting & merrines: for I cannot see what greater superstition can bee in making plaies and lawfull games in Maie, and good cheere at Yule, then in eating Fish in Lentron, and vppon Fri-daies, the Papistes as well vsing the one as the other, so that alwaies the Sabbothes bee kept holie, and and no vnlawfull sportes vsed: And this forme of alluring the people, hath bene vsed in all well gouerned Re-

publickes.

Ye see nowe (my Sonne) how (for the zeale I beare to acquent you with the plain & single verity of al things) I have not spared to playe the baird against all the estates of my kingdome; but I protest before God, I do it with the fatherly love that I owe to them all, onely hating their vices, whereof there is a good number of honest men free in every estate.

And because (for the better reformation of all these abuses among your estates) It will be a greate helpe vnto you, to be wel acquent with the nature and humoures of all your subjects, and to know particularlie the estate of eeuery uery part of your dominions; I woulde therefore counsel you, once in the yeare to visite the principall parts of the cuntry ye were in; and (because I hope yee shal be King of moe cuntries then this) once in the three yeares to visite al your kingdomes, not lippening to Viceroyes but hearing your self their complaints, and having ordinarie Councelles and justice-seates in everie kingdome of their owne Cuntry-men, and the principall matters ever to bee decided by your selfe when ye come athort.

Ye have also to consider, that yee must not only be carefull to keepe your subjectes from receiving any wrong of others within, but also ye must be carefull to keepe them from the wrong of any forrayne Prince without, sen the sword is given you by God, not onely to

re-

reuenge ppon your owne subjetes the wrongs committed uppon others; but farther, to reuenge and free them of forraine injuries done unto them: & therefore warres ppon just quarrelles are lawfull: but aboue all, let not the wrong cause be on your side.

Use all other Princes (as your brethren) honestly and kindly, keepe precisely your promise wnto them, although with your hurt: Strive with every one of them in curteste and thankfulnesse: As with all men, so especiallie with them be plaine and truethfull, keeping ever that Christian rule, To doe as ye woulde be done to; Especiallie in counting rebellion against any other Prince, a cryme against your selfe because of the præparative. Supplie therefore, nor truste not other

ther Princes Rebelles; but pittie and succour all lawfull Princes in their troubles. But if any of them will not absteine (notwithstanding whatsoeuer your good desertes) to wrong you or your subjectes, craue redresse at leafure: heare and doe all reason, and if no offer that is lawfull or honorable, can make him to absteine nor repaire his wrong doing; then for last refuge, committe the justnesse of your cause to God, giving first honestlye uppe with him, and in a publick and honorable forme.

But omitting now to teach you the forme of making warres (because that Art is better learned by practife nor speculation) I will onelie set downe to you heere a fewe preceptes therein. Let first the just nesse of your cause he

1 Sam. 31.4.

be your greatest strength, and then omit not to vse all lawfull meanes for backing of the same: Consult therefore with no Necro-mancier nor Prophet vpon the successe of your warres: remembring on King * SAVLES miserable end: but (sen al Prophecies are ceased in Christ) keep your Land cleane of al Soath-sayers, according to the com-Deut. 18, 10, mand in the *Law of God & dilated by IEREMIE: neither committe your quarrel to be tryed by a Duell, for it is a committing of it to a Lot, & there is no warrant for it in the Scripture sen the abbrogating of the old Law.

9

Before yee take on warres, play the wise Kings parte described by Christ: fore-seeing howe yee may beare it out with all necessarie provision; especiallie remember, that money is Nervus belli.

belli. Chose old experimented Captaines, and young able fouldiers, be extremelie straite and seuere in Discipline, as well for keeping of order, (which is as requisite as hardinesse in the warres) for punishing of sleuth, (which at a time may put the whole armie in hazard) as likewise for repressing of mutinies (which in warres is wonderfull daungerous:) and looke to the Spaniyard, whose great succes in all his wars hath onely come through straightnesse of Discipline and order: for such errours may be committed in the warres as cannot be gotten mended againe.

Be in your owne person walkerife, diligent, and painefull; vsing the advice of them that are skilfullest in the craft, as ye must doe in all craftes: bee homelie with your fouldiers as your com-

companions for winning their hearts; Extreamely liberal, for then is no time of sparing: Be cold and forseeing in deuising, constant in your resolutiones; and forwarde and quicke in your executiones. Fortifie well your Campe, and affayle not rashlie without an aduantage: Neither feare nor lightly your enemie: Be curious in deuising stratagemes (but alwaies honestlie) for of anything they worke greatest effectes in the warres, if secrecie be ioyned to invention: And once or twise in your own persone hazard your Selfe fairely but (hauing acquired so the fame of courage and Magnanimitie) make not a daylie soldiour of yourselfe, exposing rashlie your person to euerie perrill, but conserue your selfe thereafter for the weale of your people

ple, for whose sake yee must more care for your self nor for your owne.

And as I have counselled you to bee slow in taking on a warre, so advise I you to be slowe in peace-making. Before yee agree, looke that the grounde of your warres be satisfied in your peace; and that yee see a good suretie for you and your people: otherwaies, a honorable and just warre is more tolerable, then a dishonorable and disavantageous peace.

But it is not ynough to a good king, by the thraldome of good lawes well execute to gouerne his people, if hee ioyne not therewith his vertuous life in his owne persone and in the persone of his Courte and company, by his good example alluring his Subjectes to the love of vertue, and hatred

of vice: And therefore (my Sonne) sen all people are naturallie inclyned to follow their Princes example (as I shewed you before) let it not bee said, that yee command others to keepe the contrarie course to that which in your owne persone yee practise, making so your wordes and deedes to fight together: but by the contrarie, let your owne life be a Law-booke and a mirrour to your people, that therein they may read the practise of their owne Lawes; and therein they may see by your shaddow what life they should leade.

And this example in your own life and persone, I likewise deuide in two partes: The first, in the gouernement of your Courte and followers in all godlines and vertue: The next, in hauing your owne minde decked and enriched riched so with all vertuous qualities, that there-with ye may worthely rule your people: for it is not ynough that ye have & reteyne (as prisoners) with in your selfe never so many good qualities and vertues, except yee employe them and set them on worke for the weall of them that are committed to your charge, Omnis etenim virtus in actione consistit.

First then, as to the government of your Court & followers, as ye ought to have a great care for the ruling well of all your subjectes, so ought yee to have a double care for the ruling-well of your owne servantes, sen onto them ye are both a Politicke, & Oeconomick governour: and as everie one of the people will delyte to follow the example of any of the Courteours, as well

well in euill as in good; so what crime so horrible can be committed, and ouer-seene in a Courteoure, that will be an examplar excuse for any other of the people boldelie to committe the like. And therefore, in two poyntes yee would take good heede anent your Courte and House-holde; First, in choosing them wiselie: next, in careful ruling them whome ye have chosen.

It is an olde and true Prouerbe, That a kindly Auer wil neuer become a good horse; for albeit good education and companie be great helpes to Nature, Habitudo being most iustly called altera Natura: yet is it euill to get out of the sless that is bred in the bone (as the olde prouerbe saith:) be verie ware then in making choise of your seruants

uants and companie.

Nam turpius eiicitur, quam non admittitur hospes.

And many respectes may lawfully let an admission, that will not be sufficient causes of deprivation.

All your seruants & Court must bee coposed partly of minors (such as yong Lordes to be brought up in your company, or Pages & such like) & partly of men of perfit age, for seruing you in such roomes as ought to bee filled with men of wisedome & discretion: For the first sorte, ye can doe no more but choose them within age, that are come of a good and vertuous kinde, In fide parentum as Baptisme is vsed: For Suppose that anima non venit ex traduce, but is immediatlie created by GOD and infused from aboue. 2

aboue; yea it is most certain, that vertue or vice wil oftimes (with the heritage) be transferred from the parents to the posteritie, and runne on a blood (as the prouerbe is) the siknes of the mind becomming as kindly to some races, as these sicknesses of the bodie that smitteth in the seede, Especially choose such minors, as are come of a true and honest race, and have not had the house whereof they are descended infected with falshood.

And as for the other sorte of your companie and servantes that ought to bee of perfite age: first see that they bee of a good fame and without blemish: otherwise, what can the people thinke? but that yee have chosen a companie vnto you according to your owne humour, and so have preferred these men for

for the love of their vices and crimes that ye know them to be guyltie of: for the people that see you not within, can not judge of you but according to the out-ward appearance of your actions and companie, which only is subject to their sight: And nexte, see that they be indued with such honest qualities, as are meete for such offices as yee ordayne them to serue in, that your judgement may be knowne in imploying euery man according to his gifts; & shortly, follow good king DAVIDS counsell in the choyse of your servants, by setting your eye oppon the faithfull and ppright of the Land to dwel with you.

But here I must not forget to remember, and (according to my Fatherly authority) to charge you to prefer specially to your service so manie as haue truelie serued mee, and are able for it; the reste, honorablie to rewarde them, preferring their posterity before others as kindliest: so shall yee not onlie be best serued, (for if the haters of your Parents cannot loue you (as I shewed before) it followeth of necessity their louers must loue you) but further, ye shall kithe your thankful memory of your Father, and procure the blessing of these olde servantes, in not missing their old master in you, which otherwaies would be turned in a prayer for mee and a cursse for you. Use them therefore after my death as the testimonies of your affection towardes me; trusting and advancing those farthest whome I founde faithfulleste: which yee muste discerne by their rewards.

wardes at my hande (for rewardes) as they are bona Fortunæ, so are they subjecte vnto Fortune) but according to the truste I gaue them, hauinge ofttimes had better hearte then happe to the rewarding of sundrie: And on the other parte, as I wish you to kithe your constant love towards them that I loued, so desire I you to kithe in the same measure your constante hatred to them that I hated: I meane bring not hame, nor restore not such as yee finde standing banished or forefalted by mee: The contrarie woulde kithe in you ouer-greate a contempt of mee, and lightnesse in your owne Nature; For howe canne they bee true to the Sonne that were false to the Father.

But to return to the purpose anent the choise

choise of your servants, ye shall by this wise form of doing eschew the inconuenientes that in my minoritie I fel in anent the choise of my seruants: for by the that had the command wher I was brought vp were my seruants put vnto me, not choosing them that were meetest to serue me, but whom they thought meetest to serue their turn about me; as kithed wel in manie of them at the first rebellion raised against me; which compelled me to make a great alteration among my servants: and yet the example of that corruption made me to be longe troubled there-after with soliciters, recommending seruantes mee more for serving in effect their. freindes that put them in, then their maister that admitted them. Let my example then teach you to follow the rules

· rules here set down, choosing your seruants for your owne vse, and not for the vse of others: and sen ye must bee communis aura to all your people, so choose your servants indifferently out of all quarters, not respecting other mens appetites, but their owne qualities: for as ye must command al, so reason would yee should be serued out of al as ye please to make choise. But speciallie take good heede to the choise of your seruants that ye prefer to the offices of the crowne and estate; for in other offices ye have onely to take heede to your owne weale, but these concerne likewise the weale of your people for the which yee must be aunswerable to God. Choose then for all these offices men of knowne wisedome, honestie, & good Conscience, well practized in the ${\mathcal M}$ poynts

poyntes of the craft that yee ordaine them for, and free of all factiones and partialities: preferring them (as ye wil be answerable to God) only for their worthinesse, and not for pleasing of friends: but specially choose honest, diligent, meane (but responsall) men to be your receivers in money matters: meane (I say) that yee may when yee please take a sharp account of their intromission, without perrel of their brew ing any trouble to your estate: for this hath bin the greatest wight of my misthriuing in money matters: especially, put neuer a forrainer in any principall office of estate, for that will neuer fail to stir vp sedition & enuie in the cuntry-mens hearts both against you 🚱 him. But (as I said before) if God prouide you with mo cuntries then this, chose

choose the borne-men of everie cuntrie to bee your chiefe Counsellours therein: And for conclusion of my aduice anent the choise of your seruantes, delight to bee served with men of the Noblest bloud that can be had: for besides that their service shal breed you greate good-will, and least envie (contrary to that of start-vps) ye shal oft finde vertue followe Noble races, (as I have saide before speaking of the Nobilitie.)

Now, as to the other point, anent your governing of your servants whe ye have chosen them: Make your Court and companie to bee a paterne of godlilinesse and all honeste vertues to all the reste of the people: Bee a daylie Watch-man over your servants, that they obeye your Lawes precisely (for

(for how can your lawes be kept in the Country, if they bee broken at your lugg?) punishing the breach thereof in a Courteour, more seuerely then in the person of any other of your subjectes: and aboue all, suffer none of them (by abusing their credit with you) to oppres or wrong any of your subjectes: Be homelie or straunge with them as yee think their behauiour deserueth, and their nature may beare with. Thinke a quarrellous man a pest in your companie: Be carefull euer to preferre the gentliest natured and trustiest to the inwardest offices about you, especiallie in your Chalmer: Suffer non about you to mell in any mens particulars, but like the Turk's Ianissairs, let them know no father but you, nor particuler but yours: And if any will mell in their kinne

kinne or friendes quarrelles, giue him his leave; for sen ye must be of no surname nor kinne, but equal to al honest men, it becommeth you not to bee followed with partial or factious seruats. Teach obedience to your servantes, and not to think themselues ouer-wise; and (as when any of them deserueth it) yee must not spare to put them awaie; so, without a seene cause change none of them: Paie them (as al others your subjectes) with præmium or pæna as they deserve, which is the verie ground-stone of good governemente: Employe euerie man as ye thinke him qualified, but vse not one in al thinges, least he waxe proude and be enuyed by his marrowes: Loue them best that are playnest with you, and disguiseth not the trueth for all their kinne. Suffer none none to be euil tonged nor back-byters of them they hate: Command a hartely and brotherly love among al them that ferve you: and shortlye, mainteyne peace in your Courte and bannish envie: Cheerish modestie, banish deboshed insolence; foster humilitie, represse pryde; setting downe such a comelie and honorable order in all the poyntes of your service, that when straungers shall visie your Courte, they maye (with the Queene of *Sheba) admire your wisedome in the glorie of your house, and comely ordour among your servants.

But the principal blessing that yee can get of good companie will stande, in your Marying of a godlie and verteous Wife: For shee muste bee nearer vnto you then anie other companie,

nie, being flesh of your fleshe and bone of your bone (as God himselfe saide to ADAM.) And because I know Gen, 2. not but God maie call mee before yee be readie for Mariage, I will shortelie set downe to you heere my aduise therein.

First of al consider, that Mariage is the greatest earthly felicity or miserie, that can come to a man, according as it pleaseth god to bles or cursse the same: sen without the blessing of God then ye cannot look for a happy succes in mariage, ye must be careful both in your preparation for it, in the choise vesse of your wife to procure the same: By your preparation (I meane) that ye must keepe your bodie cleane and vnpolluted, while ye give it to your Wife whometo onlie it beelongeth:

1 Cor. 6. 9.

For how can ye just lie craue to be ioyned with a pure Virgin, if your bodie be polluted? why should the one halfe be cleane, and the other defiled? And suppose I know, Fornication is thought but a veniall sinne by the most parte of the world, yet remember well what I said to you in my first booke anente Conscience, and counte euerye sinne and breach of Gods lawe, not according as the vaine worlde esteemeth of it, but as God the judge and maker of the lawe accounteth of the same: heare God commanding by the mouth of * PAVL to absteine from fornication, declaring that the fornicator shall not inherit the kingdome of heauen; and Revel. by the mouth of IOHN reckoning out fornication among other greeuous sins that debarres the committars among Dogs

Dogges & Swine, from entrie in that Spirituall and heauenlie Ierusalem: and confidder, if a man shall once take Oppon him to count that lyte which God calleth heauie, and veniall that which God calleth greeuous; beginning first to measure any one sinne by the rule of his lust and appetites, and not of his Conscience; what shal let him to do so with the next that his affectiones shall stirre him to, the like reason Seruing for all? and so to go forwarde while he place his whole corrupted affections in Gods roome, & then what shall come of him? but (as a man giuen ouer to his owne filthie affections) shall perish into them. And because we are all of that nature, that sibbest examples twicheth vs neerest; Consider the difference of successe that God grangranted in the Mariages of the king my Grande-father and me your owne Father; the rewarde of his harlotrie (proceeding from his euil education) being the suddaine death at one time of two pleasant yong Princes; and a daughter only borne to succeed to him, whome hee had neuer the happe so much as once to see or blesse before his death, leaving a double cursse behinde him to the land, both a Woman of sexe, and a new borne babe of age to reigne ouer them: And as for the rewarde of my continencie, your selfe and fibbe-folkes to you are (praise bee to GOD) sufficient witnesses.

Bee not ashamed then to keepe cleane

1 Cor.
6, 19. your bodie (which is the *Temple of
the holie Spirite) notwithstanding all

2 vaine allurementes to the contrarie,
dis-

discerning truely and wisely of every vertue and vice according to the true quallities thereof, and not according to the vaine conceites of men.

As for your choise in Mariage, respect chiefely the three causes wherefore Mariage was first ordayned by God, and then iowne three accessories, so far as they may be obtayned vnderogating to the principalles.

The three causes it was ordeined for, are, for staying of luste, for procreation of Children, and that man should by his Wife gette a helper like himselfe. Defer not then to Marie while your age, for it is ordayned for staunching the luste in your youth: Especially a King must timously Marie for the weall of his people: Nor Marie not (for anie accessorie cause

cause or worldly respectes) a woman prable either through age, nature, or accident, for procreation of children; For in a King that were a double fault aswel against his own weale as against the weale of his people: nor yet Marie not one of knowne euill conditions or vicious education, for the woman is ordained to be a helper and not a hinderer to man.

The three accessories which (as I have said) ought also to bee respected without derogating to the principall causes; are Beauty, Riches, & friend ship by allie, which are all blessings of God: for beautie increaseth your love to your Wife, contenting you the better with her without care for others: And riches and greate allie, do both make her the abler to be a helper vnto you:

you: But if (ouer-great respect being had to these accessories) the principal causes be ouer-seene (which is oueroft practized in the world) as of them selues they are a blessing being wel vsed, so the abuse of them wil turne them in a cursse: for what can al these worldly respectes auaile, when a man shal finde himselfe coupled with a Deuill, to bee one flesh with him & the halfe Marrow in his bed? Then (though too late) shal he find that beauty without bountie, wealth without wisedome, & great friendshippe without grace and honestie, are but faire shewes and the deceitefull masques of infinite miseries.

But haue ye respect (my Sonne) to yone three special causes in your Mariage, which flowe from the firste Institi-

ath. stitution thereof.* Et cœtera omnia adiicientur vobis: and therefore beware to Marie any but one of your owne Religion; for how can ye be of one flesh and keepe vnitie betuixte you, being members of two opposite Churches? Disagreement in Religion bringeth euer with it disagreement in manners, & the dissention betuixt your Preachours and hers, will breede and foster a dissention among your subjectes, taking their example from your familie, besides the perrell of the euill education of your Children: Neither pride you that yee wil bee able to frame & make her as yee please: that deceiued SALOMON the king that euer was; the grace of Perseuerance not being a floure that groweth in our Gardene. Remember also that

that Mariage is one of the greatest actiones that a man doeth in all his time, especiallie in taking of his firste wife; And if hee Marie first basely beneath his ranke, he will euer be the lesse accounted of thereafter: And lastly, remember to choose your Wife as I aduised you to choose your servantes, that shee be of a whole and cleane race, not subject to the hereditarie sicknesses, either of the soule or the bodie: For if a man will bee carefull to breede Horses and Dogges of good kindes; Howe much more carefull should he be for the breed of his own loynes? So shal ye in your mariage haue respect to your Conscience, honoure, and naturall weall in your Successionres. When yee are Maried, keep inuiolably your promise made

to God in your Mariage, which all standeth in doing of one thing, and absteyning from an other, to treate her in all things as your Wife and the halfe of your selfe, and to make your bodie (which then is no more yours but properly hers) common with none other. I trust I neede not to insist here to dissipade you from the filthy vice of Adulterie; remember onely what solemne promise ye make to God at your Mariage: and sen it is onely by the force of that promise that your bairnes succeede vnto you, which otherwaies they could not doe; equitie and reason would ye should keepe your part therof: God is euer a seuere auenger of all perjuries; and it is no oath made in mowes, that giveth power to bairnes to succeede to great kingdomes: haue the King

King my Grande-fathers example before your eies, who by his adulterie bred the wrak of his lawful daughter and heire, in begetting that Bastarde who vnnaturally rebelled & procured the ruine of his owne Sister: and what good her posteritie hath gotten sen-syne of that unlawfull generation, BOTHVELS trickes can beare witnesse. Keepe precisely then your promise made at Mariage, as yee woulde wishe to bee partaker of the blessinge therein. And for your behauiour to your Wife, the Scripture can best give you Counsell therein? Treate her as your owne flesh: Commande her as her Lorde: Cheerish her as your helper: Rule her as your pupill: Please her in all thinges reasonable; but teach her not to bee curious in thinges that belongeth

longeth her not: ye are the head, shee is your bodie: it is your office to command and hers to obey; but yet with such a sweete harmonie, as shee should bee as readie to obeye as ye to commande, as willing to follow as ye to goe before, your loue being wholie knit unto her, and all her affectiones louingly bente to follow your will. And to conclude, keepe specially three rules with your Wife: First, suffer her neuer to meddle with the Politick gouernemente of the common-weale, but hold her at the Oeconomicke rule of the house, and yet all to bee subjecte to your direction: Keepe carefullie good and chast companie about her, for Women are the fraylest sexe: And bee neuer both angrie at once, for when ye see her in passion yee shoulde with reason

reason dantone yours; For both when ye are setled yee are meetest to judge of her errours, and when shee is come to her selfe, she may be beste made to apprehende her offence and reuerence your rebuke. If God sende you succession, bee carefull for their vertuous education: loue them as ye ought, but let them knowe as much of it as the gentlenesse of their nature will deserve, conteyning them euer in a reuerente loue and louing feare of you: And in case it please God to prouide you to all thir three Kingdomes, make your eldest sonne ISAAC, leauing him all your Kingdomes, and prouide the rest with private possessiones: otherwayes by deuiding your Kingdomes, yee shall leaue the seede of divisione and discorde among your posteritie: but

But if God give you not succession, defraud never the nearest by right, what ever conceite ye have of the person: for Kingdomes are ever at Gods disposition, and in that case we are but liverentars, lying no more in the Kinges nor peoples handes to dispossesse the righteous heire.

And as your companie should bee a patterne to the rest of your people, so should your person be a lampe of mirrour to your companie, giving light to your servantes to walke in the path of vertue, and representing vnto them such worthy qualities as they should preasse to imitate.

I neede not to trouble you with the particular discourse of the foure Cardinall vertues, it is so troden a path, but I will shortly saie vnto you: make one

one of them (which is Temperance) Queene of all the reste within you; I meane not by the vulgare Interpretation of Temperance, which onely standeth in the moderate vsing of meat & drinke; but I meane of that wife moderation, that first commanding your selfe, shall (as a Queene) commande all the affectiones and passions of your minde, and (as a Physition) wiselie mixe al your actiones according thereto: Therefore (not onely in al your affectiones and passiones, but) euen in your most vertuous actiones, make euer moderation to bee the chiefe ruler. For although Holinesse. bee firste, and most requisite qualitie of a Christian (as proceeding from the true feare and knowledge of God) yet yee remember how in the conclusion of my first

first booke, I aduised you to moderate al your outwarde actiones flowing therefra; The like saye I nowe of Iustice, which is the greatest vertue that pro-

perly belongeth to a kings office.

Use Justice, but with such moderation as it turne not in Tyrannie, otherwaies fummum ius, is fumma iniuria: as for example, if a man of a knowne honest life be inuaded by brigandes or theeues for his purse, and in his owne defence slaie one of them, because they were not at the Horne, and that although they were both moe in number, and also knowne to be deboshed and insolent livers, where by the contrary, he was fingle alone, being a man of sound reputation; yet because there was no eye-witnesse present that could verifie their first inuading of him, shal he

he therefore lose his head? & likewise by the law-burrowes in our lawes, men are prohibited under pecuniall pains, from any waies inuading or molesting their neighbours person or boundes; if then his horse break the tedder & pastor in his neighbors medow, shal he pay two or three thousand poundes for the wantonnes of his horse or the weaknes of his tedder? surely no: for Lawes are ordeined as rules of vertuous and sociall liuing, and not to bee snares to trap your good subjects: and therefore the Lawe must bee interpreted according to the meaning, and not to the literall sense thereof, Nam ratio est anima legis.

And as I said of Iustice, so saie I of Clemencie, Magnanimitie, Liberalitie, Constancie, Humilitie, & al other prince-

princely vertues, Nam in medio stat virtus And it is but the craft of the Deuil that falfly coloureth the two vices that are on either side thereof, with the borrowed titles thereof, albeit in very deede they have no affinitie therewith: and the two extreamities themselves, although they seme contrary, yet growing to the height runneth euer both in one: For what difference is betuixte extreame tyrranny delighting to destroy all mankind; and extreame flackneffe of punishment, permitting euery man to tyrrannize ouer his marrow? And what differeth extreame Prodigality, by wasting of all to possesse nothing; from extreame Niggardnesse, hoarding up of all to enjoye nothing? like the Asse that carrying victuall on her her backe, is like to sterue for hunhunger, and wil be faine of thissels for her part: and what is betuixt the pride of a glorious NEBVCHADNEZAR and the preposterous humilitie of one of our Puritane Ministers, clayming to their Paritie, and crying, Wee are all but vile Wormes, & yet wil judge and give law to their king, but will be iudged nor controlled by none: Surely, there is more pride vnder such a ones black-bonnet, nor vnder great ALEXANDERS Diademe (as was saide of the cloutes of DIOGENES.)

But aboue all vertues study to know well your owne crafte, which is to rule your people: And when I saye this, I bid you know all craftes: For except ye know euerie one, how can yee controll euerie one? which is your proper office. Therefore, besides your education, it is P

necessarie yee delight in reading and seeking the knowledge of all lawfull things, but with thir two restrictions; First, that yee choose idle houres for it, not interrupting therwith the discharge of your office; & next, that ye study not for knowledge nakedly, but that your principal end be, to make you able there by to vse your office, practifing according to your knowledge in al the points of your calling; not like thir vaine Astrologians, that studie night & day on the course of the starres, onely that they may (for satisfying their curiosity) know their course. But sen al arts & sciences are linked euery one with other, their greatest principles agreeing in one (which mooued the Poets to feine the nine Muses to be al sisters) study them, that out of their harmony ye may suck the

the knowledge of all faculties, & consequently, be on the counsel of al crafts, that ye may be able to conteine them al in order (as I have already said:) know ledge & learning is a light burden, the weight whereof will neuer presse your shoulders: First of all then studie to be well seene in the Scriptures, aswel for the knowledge of your owne saluation, as that ye may be able to conteine your Church in their calling, as Custos vtrivique tabulæ: for the ruling them wel is no small poynte of your office, taking specially heed, that they vague not from their texte in the Pulpit: for if euer ye would haue peace in your Lande, suffer them not to meddle with the policie or estate in the Pulpite: But snibbe sickerlie the firste that minteth to it: And (if hee like to appeale or declyne) when ye have taken order with his heade, his brethren may (if they please) powle his haire and pare his nayles, as the King my Grande-father said of a Priest. Doe nothing towardes them without a good grounde and warrante, but reason not much with them, for (as I have tolde you before) I have else over-much bursten them with that, Contra verbosos, noli contendere verbis: And suffer no Conventions nor meetings among Churchmen, but by your knowledge and permission.

Next the Scriptures, studie well your owne Lawes; for how can ye discreme by the thing yee knowe not: but preasse to drawe all your Lawes and processes to be as shorte and plaine as ye can: assure your selfe, the long-somnesse

nesse both of rightes and processes, breedeth their vnsure loosenes and obscuritie, the shortest being euer both the surest and plainest forme, and the long-somnes serueth onely for the enriching of the Aduocates and Clerkes with the spoyle of the whole Countrie. And therefore delight to haunt whiles your Session, and spie carefully their proceedings, taking narrow tente if anie bribery may be tried among them, which cannot ouer-seuerely bee punished: Spare not to go there, for gracing (that farre) anie that yee fauoure, by your presence to procure them expedition of Iustice (although that should be speciallie done for the poore that can not waite on:) but when ye ar there, remember the throne is Gods and not yours, that yee fit in: and let no fauour, nor whatsoever respectes move you from the right: ye sit not there (as I shew before) for rewarding of friendes or servants, nor for crossing of contemners; but only for doing of justice: learne also wisely to discerne, betwixt justice equity: for pittie of the poore then, rob not the rich, because he may better spare it; but give the littleman the most cloak, if it be his; eschewing the errour of yong CYRVS therein: for justice (by the law) giveth every man his own: and equitie in things arbitrall, giveth every one that which is meetest for him.

Be an ordinary sitter in your secret Counsell: that judicatour is onely ordeined for matters of estate, and repreassing of insolente oppressions: make that judgement as compendious and plaine plaine as ye can: and suffer no Aduocates to be heard there with their delatoures, but let euery party tel his own tale himselfe; and wearie not to heare the complaintes of the oppressed, aut ne Rex sis: remitte euery thing to the ordinarye judicatoure for eschewing of confusion, but let it be your owne craft to take a sharpe counte of euery man in his office.

And next the laws, I would have you to be wel versed in authentick histories, & specially in the Chronicles of al nations: I mean not of such infamous investives as BVCHANANES or KNOXES chronicles, for if any of these infamous libels remaine while your daies, vse the law vpon the keepers thereof, for in that poynte I would have you a Pythagorist, to think that the Spirits

of these archi-bellowces of rebettio, ar flitted into them that hoardeth their bookes, or mainteineth their opinions, punishing them even as it were their authors risen againe. But by reading of authenticke histories and Chronicles, ye shal learne experience by Theoricke, applying the by-past things to the present est ate, Quia nihil nunc dici aut fieri potest, quod non dictum & factum sit prius; such is the continuall volubilitie of things earthlye, according to the roundnesse of the worlde, and volubilitie of the heauenly circles, which is ex-Ezek i pressed by the wheeles in * EZECHI-ELS vision, and counterfeited by the Poets in rota Fortunæ. And likewaies by the knowledge of histories, yee shall knowe how to behave your selfe to all Embassadoures and strangers, being able

able to discourse with them ppon the estate of their owne cuntry. As for the studie of other liberal artes and sciences, I would have you reasonably versed into them, but not preassing to be a passe-master in any of the; for that can not but distract you from the poynts of your calling (as I shewed before:) and when (by the enemie winning the towne) ye shall be interrupted in your demonstration (as ARCHIMEDES was) your people (I trow) wil looke very bluntly vpon it: I grant it is meet ye haue some entrance, specially in the Mathematickes, for the knowledge of the arte Militarie, in situation of Campes, making Fortifications, breaches or such like: And let not this your knowledge be dead without fruits (as Saint IAMES speaketh of faith) Iam. 2. hut

but let it appeare in your daily conuersation, and in al the actions of your life.

Embrace true Magnanimitie, not in being vindictiue, which the corrupted judgements of the worlde thinks to bee true Magnanimity: but by the contrarie, in thinking your offender not worthy of your wrath, empyring ouer your own passion, & triumphing in the commanding your self to forgiue, stewarding the effectes of your courage and wrath, to be rightly employed upon repelling of injuries within, by revenge taking upon the oppressoures: & in reuenging injuries without by just wars vpon forraine enemies: and so, where ye finde a notable injurie, spare not to giue course to the torrents of your wrath: The wrath of a king is like to the roaring of a Lyon.

Fo-

Foster true Humilitie in banishing pride, not onely towardes GOD (considering yee differ not in stuffe but in vse and that onely by his ordinance from the basest of your people) but also towards your Parents.

And because it is likely by the course of nature, that my Wife shall out-live me; as ever ye thinke to purchase my blessing, Honour your Mother: set BEERSHEBA in a throne on your right hand: Offend her for no thing, much lesse wrong her: remember her Quæ longa decem tulerit sastidia menses.

And that your flesh & bloud is made of hers: & begin not (like the yong lords and Lairdes) your first warres uppon your Mother, but preasse euer earnest lie to deserve her blessing; neither deceive your selfe with many that saie:

2

They care not for their Parents curse so they deserve it not. O invert not the order of nature by judgeing your superiours, chiefely in your own particulare! But assure your self, the blessing or curse of the Parents hath almoste euer a Prophetick power ioyned with it: And if there were no more, Honour your Parents for the lengthening of your owne daies (as God in his lawe promiseth.) Honour also them that are in loco parentum vnto you, suche as youre Gouernoures and vpbringers, and your preceptours; bee thankful vnto them and reward them, which is your dutie and honour: but on the other part, let not this true humilitie staie your high indignation to appeare when any great oppressours shal presume to come in your presence, then frowne

frowne as ye ought: and incase they vse a colour of law in oppressing their poor ones (as ouer-many do) that which yee can not mend by law, mend by the with drawing of your countenance from them: & once in the yeare crosse them when their turnes commeth athorte you, oppressing the oppressour according to * Christes parable of the two Mat. 18. debtors.

Keepe true Constancie, not onely in your kindnes towards honest men; but being also inuicti animi against all aduersities, not with that Stoick insensible stupiditie that proud inconstant LIPSIUS perswadeth in his Constatia. But although yee are not a stock, not to feele calamitis, yet let not the feeling of them so ouer-rule & doazen your reason, as may staie you from taking and Ving

vsing the best resolution for remedie that can be found out.

Use true Liberalitie in rewarding the good, & bestowing franckly for your honour & weal; but prouide how to haue, and caste not awaie without cause; & speciallie, enrich not your self with exactions vpon your subjects; but think the riches of your people your best pose, by the sinnes of the offenders making your kitchin to reik: & incase necessity of wars or other extraordinaries compell you to lift Subsidies, doe it as rarely as ye can, employing it onely to the vse it was ordeyned for, vsing your self in that case as, sidus depositarius to your people.

And principallie exercise true Wisedome, in discerning wisely betuixt true and false reports; first considering the nature

nature of the person reporter; nexte, what entresse he can have in the weal or euil of him whom of he maketh the report; thirdly, the likely-hood of the purpose it self; & last the nature & bypast life of the delated person: & where ye finde a tratler, away with him: & although it be true, that a Prince can neuer without secrecy do great things, yet it is better ofttimes to try reportes, then by credulity to foster suspicion pp on a honest man; for sen suspicion is the Tirantes sicknes, as the fruits of an euil Conscience, potius in alterem partem peccato, I meane, in not mistrusting one whomto no such vnhonesty was knowne before: But as for people that have slipped before, Argumentum a simili may iust lie breede preuention by forefight.

And

And to conclude my aduice anent your behauiour in your person: Consider that God is the author of all vertue, having imprented in mens mindes by the verie light of Nature, the loue of all morall vertues, (as was seene by the vertuous liues of the old Romans) And preasse then to shine as far before your people in all vertue and honestie, as in greatnesse of ranke, that the vse thereof in al your actions, may turne (with time) in a natural habitude vnto you, that as by their hearing of your Lawes, so by their sight of your person, both their eies and their eares, maie lead and allure them to the loue of vertue and hatred of vice.



ANENT A KINGS BEHAVI-OVR IN INDIFFERENT THINGS.

THE THIRD BOOKE.

ing, That a King is as one set on a skaffold, whose smallest actions & gestures al the peo-

ple gazingly do behold: and therefore although a King be neuer so precise in the dischargeing of his office, the people who seeth but the outwarde parte, will euer judge of the substance by the circumstances, & according to the out warde appearance (if his behauiour be light or dissolute) will conceiue preoc-

cupied conceits of the Kings inwarde intention, which although with time (the tryer of al trueth) it wil vanish, by the euidence of the contrarie euents, yet interim patitur iustus: and prejudged conceites will (in the meane time) breed Contempt, the Mother of Rebellion and disorder: And besides that it is certaine, that all the indifferente actiones and behauiour of a man, haue a certaine holding & dependance, either vpon vertue or vice, according as they are vsed or ruled: for there is not a middes betuixt them, no more nor betuixte their remardes, Heauen and Hell.

Be carefull then (my Sonne) so to frame all your indifferente actiones & outward behauiour, as they may serue for the furtherance & foorth-setting of

of your vertuous qualities.

The whole indifferent actiones of a man, I devide in two fortes: In his behauiour in thinges necessarie, as foode, sleeping, raymente, speaking, writing, and gesture: And in thinges not necessarie (though conveniente and lawefull) as pastimes or exercises, and vsing of companie for recreation.

As to the indifferent things neceffarie, although that of themselves they
cannot be wanted, and so in that case
are not indifferent, as likewaies incase they bee not vsed with moderation declyning so to the extremitie
which is vice: yet the quality of forme
of vsing of them, may smell of vertue
or vice, and be great furtherers to
anie of them.

To

To beginne first then at the thinges necessarie, One of the publikest indifferent actiones of a King, & that manyest (especiallie strangers) wil narrowly take heed to, is, his manner of refection at his Table and his behauiour thereat. Therefore, as Kinges vse oft to eate publicklie, it is meet and honorable that ye also do so, as wel to eschem the opinion that yee love not to haunte companie, which is one of the markes of a Tyrant; as likewaies, that your delighte to eate privatlye, be not thought to be for private satisfying of your gluttonie, which ye would be ashamed should be publicklie seene. Let your Table bee honorably serued, but serue your appetite with few dishes (as young CYVRS did) which both is holesomest and freest from the vice

of delicacie, which is a degree of gluttonie: And vse most to eate of reasonable rude and common-meates, aswel for making your bodie strong and durable for trauell, as that ye may be the hartlier received by your meane subiects in their houses, when their cheere may suffice you; which otherwaies would be imputed to you for pride, and breed disdaine in them. Let all your foode be of simples, without composition or fauces, which are more like medecines then meate: the vsing of them was counted among the auncient Romanes, a filthy vice of delicacie (because they serue only for pleasing of the taste, and not for satisfying of the appetite) abhorring APITIVS their own Citizen, for his vice of delicacie. Like as both the Grecians and Romanes

manes had in detestation the verie name of PHILOXENVS, for his filthie wishe of the Cranne-Craig: And therefore was that sentence vsed among them against their artificiall false appetites, Optimum condimentum fames. But beware with vsing excesse of meate and drinke; and chiefelie beware of drunkennesse, whiche is a beastelie vice, namelie in a King: But speciallie beware with it because it is one of those vices that increaseth with age. In the forme of your meate-eating, bee neither vnciuill (like a Grosse Cynike) nor affectatelie mignarde (like a dayntie dame:) but eate in a manlye, rounde, and honest fashion. It is nowaies comelie to dispatche affaires, or to bee pensiue at meate: but keepe

keep then an open and cheereful countenance, garring then reade pleasant histories unto you, that profite may be mixed with pleasure: & when yee are euil disposed, interteine pleasant, quick but honest discourses.

And because meat prouoketh sleeping, be also moderate in your sleep, for it goeth much by vse; & remember, that if your whole life were deuided in foure partes, three of them would be found to be consumed on meate drinke, and sleepe. But albeit ordinarie times would commonlie be keept in meate and sleepe; yet vse your self whiles so, that any time in the foure and twenty houres may bee alike to you for anie of them, that thereby your dyet maie bee accommodatte to your affaires, & not your affaires to your diet;

not therefore vsing your selfe to ouer great softnes and delicacie in your sleep more nor in your meate, and special-lie in-case yee have adoe with the warres.

Let not your Chalmer be throng & common the time of your rest aswel for comelines, as for eschewing of carying clatters out of the same: Let them that haue the credit to serue in your Chalmer be trustie and secret: for a King will have neede to vse secrecie in manie thinges, but yet behaue your selfe so in youre greatest secretes, as yee neede not bee ashamed suppose they were al proclaymed at the Crosse: But specially see that those of your Chalmer be of a sounde fame, and without blemishe: Take no heede to any of your Dreames; for all Prophecies, Visions, and Sprophetick dreames are accomplified and ceased in Christ: therefore take no heed to freats either in dreams or any other thinges, for that errour proceedeth of ignorance and is unworthy of a Christian, who shoulde be assured quod omnia funt sancta sanctis, all daies and meates being alike to Christianes (as PAVLL sayth.)

Rom. 14. 14.

Next followeth to speake of rayment, the on-putting whereof is the ordinary action that followeth nexte to
sleepe: Be also moderate in your rayment; neither ouer-superfluous (like a
deboshed waister) nor yet ouer-base
(like a miserable pedder) not artisiciallie trymmed and decked (like a
Courtizane:) nor yet ouer sluggishlie clothed (like a Cuntrie-cloune)
not ouer lightly. (like a Candie SolS

dier or a vaine young Courtier) nor yet ouer grauely (like a Minister:) but in youre garments bee proper, cleanely, comely and honest; wearing your cloathes in a carelesse yet comely forme: keeping in them a middle forme, inter Togatos & Palliatos, betuixte the grauitie of the one and lightneffe of the other: thereby to signifie, that by your calling ye are mixed of both the professiones, TOGATUS as a judge making & pronouncing the law, PAL-LIATVS by the power of the sword: as your office is likewise mixed betuixte the Ecclesiastical and ciuil estate: for a King is not mere laicus, as both the Papistes and Anabaptists would haue him, to the which errour also our puritanes incline ouer-far. But to returne to the purpose of garments, they ought

to be vsed according to their first institution by God, which was for three causes: to hide our nakednesse and shame, and consequentlie to make vs more comelie: And thirdly, to preserue vs from the injuries of heate and colde: If to hide our nakednesse and shamefull partes, these naturall partes ordeyned to be hidde, shoulde not then be represented by anie formes in the cloathes, as the greate filthy Baloppes do (bearing the pensel of PRIAPVS) which therefore I thinke the onelie unlawfull forme of cloathes: And if they should helpe our comelines, they should not then by their paynted preined fashione serue for baytes to filthie Lecherie, as false heire and fairding doe among vnchaste women; And if they shoulde preserve vs from the ininiuries of heate and colde, men | bould not (like senseles stones) contemne God in lightlying the seasones, glorying to conquere honour on heate or cold: And although it be praise worthie and necessarie in a Prince, to be patiens algoris & æstus, when he shal haue adoe with warres uppon the feeldes; yet I thinke it meeter that ye goe both clothed and armed, nor naked to the battle; except ye would make you light for away-running; and yet for cowardes, metus addet alas. And shortly, in your Clothes keep a proportion, as well with the seasones of the yeare, as of your age; in the fashiones of them being carelesse, vsing them according to the common forme of the time, whiles richlier, whiles meanelier clothed as occasion serueth, without keeping any precise rule there in

in; for if your mind be found occupied vpon them, it will bee thought idle otherwaies, as CESAR said de compto iuuene, whose spirite therefore he feared not: but speciallie eschew to be effeminate in your clothes, in perfuming, preining, or suchlike: and faile neuer in time of warres to be galliardest and brauest, both in clothes and countenance: and make not a foole of your selfe in disguysing or wearing long your haire or nayles, which are but excrements of Nature, & bewraie such missusers of them, to be either of a vindictiue, or a vaine light naturall; especially, make no vowes in such vaine and outwarde thinges as concerne either meate or clothes.

Let your selfe and all your Courte weare no ordinarie armour with your 3 clothes

cloathes, but such as is Knightly & honorable; I meane Rapier-Swords and Daggers: for toilsome weapons in the Court betokneth confusion in the cuntry: & therefore banish not only from your court al trayterous offensiue weapons forbidden by the laws, as gunnes and suchlike (whereof I spake already) but also such trayterous defensive armes, as Secreates, Platesleeues, and suchlike unseene armour: for (besides that the wearers thereof may be presupposed to have a secret euill intention) they want both the vses that defen sue armour is ordained for; which is, to be able to hold out violence, and by their outward glauncing in their enemies eies, to strike a terrour in their hearts, where by the contrarie they can Serue for neither, being not onely vnable

ble to resist, but dangerous for shots, and giving no outward glance against the enemy, being only ordeined for betraying under trust, whereof honeste men should bee ashamed to beare the outwarde badge, not resembling the thing they are not. And for answere against thir arguments, I knowe none but the old Scottes fashion, which if it be wrong, is no more to be allowed for ancientnes, nor the olde Messe is which also our forebeares ved

The next thing that ye have to take heede to, is your speaking & language, whereunto I ioyne your gesture, sen actione is one of the chiefest qualities that is required in an oratour, for as the tongue speaketh to the eares, so doth the gesture speake to the eies of the auditoure. In both your speaking and

and your gesture then, vse a natural & plaine forme, not fairdit with artifice: for (as the French-men saie) Rien counterfaict fin: But eschewe al affect at formes in both. In your language bee plaine, honest, naturall, comely, cleane, short, and sententious; eschewing both the extreamities, as well in not vsing a rusticall corrupt leid, nor yet bookelanguage, and Pen and Inke-horne tearmes, and least of all, mignarde and effeminate tearmes: but let the greatest parte of your Eloquence confist in a naturall, cleare, and sensible forme of the deliverie of your minde, buylded ay vpon certaine and good groundes, tempering it with grauitie, quickenes or merines according to the subject, and occasion of the time, not taunting in Theologie, nor alleadging Scrip-

Scripture in drinking purposes (as ouer many do) vse also the like forme in your gesture, neither looking sillely (like a stupide pedant) nor unsetledly with an vncouth morgue (like a new-comeouer Caualier) but let your behauior be natural, graue, & acording to the fashi on of your cuntry. Be not over sparing in your courtesies, for that will be imputed to incivilitie and arrogancie; nor yet ouer prodigall in jowking or nodding at every step, for that forme of being populare, becommeth better afspiring ABSALONS then lawfull Kings; framing euer your gesture according to your present actiones, looking grauelie and with a majestie when ye sit in judgemente, or giue audience to Embassadours: homely, when ye are in private with your owne servantes: me-

merely, when ye are at any pastime or merrie discourse, and let your countenance smell of courage and Magnanimitie when ye are at the warres: and remember (I say ouer againe) to bee plaine and sensible in your language; for besides that it is the tongues office to be the messenger of the mind, it may be thought a pointe of imbecillitie of of spirit in a King to speake obscurely, much more untruely, as if he stoode awe of any in vttering his thoughts; except some vnhappie mutinie or suddaine rebellion were blazed pp: then indeed it is a lawfull pollicie, to beare with that present firie confusion by fair generall speeches, (keeping you as far as ye can from direct promises) while the fire be quenched, & that confused masse separated; & to do otherwaies, it were

were no Magnanimity, but rash tempting of God. Remember also, to put a difference betuixt your forme of language in reasoning, and your pronouncing of sentences or declarator of your will in judgement, or anye other waies in the points of your office: for in the former case, yee must reason pleasantly & patiently, not like a King, but like a privat man & a scholer: otherwaies, your impatience of contradiction wil be interpreted to be for lacke of reason on your part; where in the points of your office, yee should ripelie advise indeede before ye giue forth your sentence: but fra it bee giuen forth, the suffering of anie contradiction, diminisheth the majestie of your authority & maketh the processes endles; the like forme woulde also be observed by all

all your inferiour judges and Magistrates.

Now as to your writing, which is nothing els, but a forme of Enregistrate speech; vse a plaine, short, but stately stile, both in your Proclamations & Missiues, especially to forraine Princes: and if your engine spurre you to write anie workes either in verse or in prose, I cannot but allowe you to practise it, but take no longsome works in hande for distracting you from your calling: Flatter not your selfe in your laboures, but before they be set foorth, let them firste bee priuelye censured by some of the best skilled men in that craft, that in these workes ye mell with. And because your writs will remaine as true pictures of your mind to all posterities, let them be free of of all vncomelines and vnhonestie: & according to HORACES counsell de arte poetica.

Nonum premantur in annum.

I meane both your verse and youre prose: letting first that furie and heate coole at leasure wherewith they were written, & then as an vncouth judge and censure, reuising them ouer againe, antequam vltimam adhibeas manum. If yee would write worthelie, choose subjects worthie of you, that be not full of vanitie but of vertue, eschewing obscuritie, & delighting euer to be plaine & sensible: & if ye write in vers, remember that it is not the principal part of a poëme to rime right, and flow wel with manie prettie wordes; but the chiefe commendation of a poëme, is, that when the verse shall bee shaken sundrie in prose,

prose, it shalbe found so rich in quick inventions & poëtick floures, as it shal reteine the lustre of a poëme although in prose: & I would also aduise you to write in your own langage: for there is no thing left to be said in Greeke & Latine already, & ynow of poore scholers would match you in these languages: & besides that, it best becommeth a King to purifie & make famous his owne language, wherein he may go before all his subjectes; as it setteth him well to doe in all honeste and lawfull thinges.

And among all vn-necessarie things that are lawfull and expedient, I thinke exercises of the bodie moste commendable to bee vsed by a younge Prince, in such honeste games or pastimes as may further habilitie and main-

mainteine health: for albeit I graunte it be most requisite for a King to exercise his engyne (which surely with Idlenesse wil rouste & become blunt) yet certainely bodelie exercises and games are verie commendable, as well for banishing of Idlenesse (the mother of all vices) as for making his bodie able and durable for trauell, which is verie necessarie for a King. But from this counte I debarre al rumling violente exercises; as The foote-bal, meeter for laming nor making able the vsers thereof: as likewaies such tumbling trickes as onelie serue for Comedians and Gysares to winne their bread with. But the exercises that I would have you to vse (although but moderatly, not making a craft of them) are running, leaping, wrastling, fensing dancing 4

And the honorablest and most commendable games that yee can vse, are games on Horse-backe; for it becommeth a Prince beste of any man to bee a faire & good horse-man. Vse therefore to ryde and daunton greate and coragious horses, that I may saie of you (as PHILLIP said of great ALEX-ANDER his son) Maxedovia's se xwpei: & vse specially such games on horse-back as may teach you to handle your armes thereon, such as the Tilte, the Ring, and lowe ryding for handling of your sword.

I can not omit here the hunting, speciallie with running hounds, which is the moste honorable and noblest sorte thereof, for it is a thieuishe forme of hunting to shoote with Gunnes and Bowes

bowes: & grey-hound hunting, is not so martial nor noble a game. But because I would be thought a partiall praiser of this sport, I remit you to ZENOPHON an old and famous writer, who had no minde of flattering either me or you in this purpose, and who also setteth down a faire paterne for the education of a young Kinge, vnder the supposed name of CYRVS. As for hawking I condemne it not, but I must praise it more sparingly, because it neither resembleth the wars so neere as hunting doth, in making a man hardie & skilfull riddin in all grounds: & is more vncertain & subject to mischances; & (which is worste of al) is ther through an extreame stirrer vp of passions: but in vsing either of thir games obserue that moderation, that ye slip not therewith

with the houres appointed for your affairs which ye ought ever precisely for to keip, remebring that these games ar but ordeined for you, in enabling you for your office for the which ye ar ordeined.

And as for sitting house pastimes, (wherwith men by driving time spur a free & fast ynough rūning horse, as the prouerb is) although they ar not profitable for the exercife either of mind or bodie, yet I cannot vtterly condemne them, sen they may whiles supplie the roome, which being tome would be patent to pernicious idleteth, quia nihil potest esse vacuum: I wil not therefore agree with the curiositie of DANAEVS in his booke De lusu alex, and most of the French ministers (although otherwaies surely I reverence them as notable and godlie men) for they are deceiued

deceived therein, in founding their argument vpon a mistaken ground, which is, that the playing at Cards or Dice is a kinde of casting of lot, and therefore vnlawful: wherein they deceive them-Selu for the casting of lot was vsed for tryall of the truth in any obscure thing that otherwaies could not bee gotten cleared, and therefore was a forte of Prophecie, where by the contrarie, no man goeth to anie of these playes to cleare anie obscure trueth, but onlie to gage so much of his owne money as he pleaseth, upon the hazard of the running of the Cardes or Dice, aswel as he would do upon the speed of a horse or a Dogge, or any such like gaygeour, and so if they be vnlawfull, all gageours upon vncertenties must likewaies be condemned; not that thereby I take the

the defence of vain Carders & Dicers that waste their moven, and their time (whereof few consider the pretiousnes) ppon prodigal & continual playing, no I would rather allow it to be discharged wher such corruptions cannot be eschewed, but onely I cannot condemne you at some times when ye haue no other thing ado (as a good king wil be seldome) & are weary of reading or euill disposed in your person, then (I say) may ye law fully play at the Cardes or Tables: for as to Dycing, I think it becometh beste deboshed soldiers to play at on the head of there drums, being only ruled by hazard, & subject to knauish cogging: & as for the Chesse, I think it over fonde, because it is ouerwise & Philosophick a folly; for where al such light plaies ar ordeined to free mens heads for a time, from

from the faschious thoughts on their affaires, it by the contrair filleth and trubleth mens heads with as many faschious toyes of the playe, as before it was filled with thoughts on his affaires.

But in your playing I would have you to keep three rules, first or ye play, consider ye do it onely for your recreation, are resolve to hazard the losse of al that ye play: I next, for that cause play no more nor ye care to cast among Pages, all last, play alwaies faire play precisely, that ye come not in vse of tricking and lying in mowes: otherwaise (if ye cannot keepe thir rules) my counsel is that yee alluterly absteine from these playes: for neither a madd passion for losse, nor falshood vsed to gaine with, can be called any play.

Now, it is not onely lawfull but ne-

cessary, that yee haue company meete for every thing ye take on hande, aswel in your games and exercises as in your graue and earneste affaires: But learne to distinguish time according to the occasion, chosing your company accordingly. Confer not with hunters at your counsel nor in your counsel affairs; nor dispatch not affairs at hunting or other games: & haue the like respect to the seasons of your age, vsing your fortes of recreation & companie therfore agreeing thereunto: for it becommeth beste (as kindeliest) euerie age to smell of the own quality) insolence & unlawful things being almaies eschemed;) and not that a Colte should drawe the plough & an old horse runne away with the harrowes. But take heede speciallie, that your companie for recreation

creation be chosen of honest persones not defamed or vicious, mixing filthie talke with merinesse, Corrumpunt bonos mores colloquia prava: But specially absteine from hanting before your Mariage the idle copanie of dames, which ar nothing else but Alliciamenta Veneris: & abuse not your self in making your sporters your Counsellores; speciallie delight not to keep ordinarily in your company, Comedianes, or Balladines, for the Tyrauntes delighted moste in them, and delighted to make Comedies and Tragedies themselues; Where vppon the aunswere that a Philosopher gaue one of them there-anents, is now come in a Prouerbe, Reduc me in latomias: And all the ruse that NERO made of him selfe when he died, was Hodie moritur optimus Tragæda, as indeede his

his whole life was al but one Tragedy.

Delight not also to be in your owne person a player vpon instruments, e-Specially on Such as commonly men win their liuing with; nor yet to be fine of any Moechanick craft: DU BARTAS faith, Leur esprit s'en fuit au bout des doigts But spare not whiles by merie companie to be free from importunity: for ye should be mooved with reason (which is the onely quallitie whereby men differ from beastes) & not with importunity for the which cause (as also for augmenting your Majestie) ye shall not be so facile of accesse giuing at al times as I haue bene: and yet not altogether retired or locked op like the Kinges of Persia, appointing also certaine houres for publick audience.

And sen my trust is, that God hath

ordeined you for moe Kingdomes nor this, (as I have oft already saide) preasse by the outward behauiour aswell of your owne persone as of your Courte in all indifferent thinges, to allure peece and peece the reste of your Kingdomes to followe the fashiones of that kingdome of yours that yee finde most civill, easiest to bee ruled, and moste obedient to the lawes: for outwarde and indifferente thinges, are euer the shaddowes and allurers to vertue or vice: But beware of thrawing or constrayning them thereto, letting it be brought on with time & at leasure, speciallie by mixinge through allie and dailie conuersation, the men of euery kingdome with an other, as may with time make them to growe and weld all in one: Which maye

maye easelye bee done in this Ile of Brittane, being all but one Ile, and al-ready ioyned in unitie of Religion and language.

AND For conclusion of this my whole treatise, Remember (My Sonne) by your true and constante depending uppon God, to procure a blessing to all your actiones in your office: by the outwarde vsing of your office to testifie the inwarde vprightnesse of your hearte: And by your behauiour in all indifferente thinges, to set foorth the true shaddowe of your vertuous disposition. And in respecte of the greatnesse and weight of your burthen, to be patient in hearing, keeping your heart free from preoccupation, colde in deliberation, ripe in conclu-

cluding, & constant in your resolution: for better it is to bide at your resolution, although there were some wrong in it, then by daylie chaunging to effectuate nothing; taking the patterne thereof from the Microcosme of your owne bodie; wherein yee haue two eyes, signifying greate fore-sight and providence, with a narrow looking in all thinges: and also two eares, signifying patient hearing, and that of both the pairties: but yee haue but one tongue, for pronouncing a plaine, senfible, and vniforme sentence: And but one heade, and one hearte, for keeping a constante and vniforme resolution according to your apprehensione; hauing two handes, with manie fingers for quicke Execution, in employinge all instrumentes meete

meete for effectuating your deliberationes.

But forget not to digeste euer your passione before yee determine uppon anie thing, sen Ira furor breuis est; vttering onely your anger according to the Apostles rule, Irascimini sed ne peccetis, taking pleasure not onely to reward but aduaunce the good (which is a cheefe point of a Kings glorie) but make none ouer greate, but according as the power of the cuntrie may beare; and punishing the euil, but every man according to his own offence; not punishing nor blaming the father for the son, nor the brother for the brother: much lesse generallie to hate a whole race, Nam omnia delicta funt personalia.

And aboue al, let the measure of your love to every one bee according to the mea-

Eph. 4. 26. measure of his vertue, letting your fauour be no longer bound to any, then the
continuance of his vertuous disposition shal deserve: not admitting the excuse vppon a iust revenge, to procure ouer-sight to an injurie: for the sirste
injurie is committed against the partye: but the parties revengeing
thereof at his owne hande, is a wronge
committed against you, in vsurping
your office whome-to onely the sworde
belongeth for revengeing of all the
iniuries committed against any of your
people.

Thus hoping in the goodnes of God, that your natural inclination shal have a happie sympathie with these precepts, making the wise-mans schoolemaster (which is the example of others) to be your teacher, according

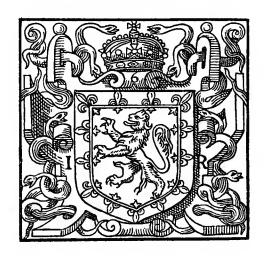
to that olde verse,

Fœlix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.

Eschewing so the ouer-late repentance by your owne experience (which is the schoole-maister of Fooles) I will for ende of all, require you (my Sonne) as euer yee thinke to deserue my Fatherlie blessing, to keepe continuallie before the eyes of your minde, the greatnesse of your charge, making the faithfull and due discharge thereof the principall butte ye shoote at in all your actiones, counting it ever the principall; and all your other actiones but as accessories to bee employed as middifes for the furthering of that principall: And being contente to let others excell in other things; Let it be your chiefest earthly glorie, to excel in your owne craft: according to that worthie sentence of that sublime and Heroicall Poet VIRGIL, wherein also my dictone is included:

Excudent alij spirantia mollius æra,
Credo equidem: viuos ducent de marmore vultus
Orabunt causas melius; cœlique meatus
Describent radio, & surgentia sydera dicent.
Tu, regere imperio populos, Romane, memento:
[Hæ tibi erunt artes] pacique imponere morem.

PARCERE SVBIECTIS ET DEBELLARE SVPERBOS.



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COMPARATIVE VIEW OF THE CONTENTS OF THE FIRST TWO EDITIONS.

Original, or Secret Edition: Edinburgh, 1599. (SMALL QUARTO.) (Only Seven Copies printed.)

BAΣIAIKON ΔΩPON. Devided into Three Bookes. Edinbyrgh Printed by Robert Walde-graue Printer to the Kings Majestie. 1599. I leaf. [Decorated with typographical ornaments in the centre of the titlepage, and full-length figures of "Amor" and "Pax" on either side.]

The Dedication of the booke.*

Sonet.—Lo heere (my Sonne)

a mirrour viue and faire,

1 leaf.

The Argument of the booke.

Sonnet.—God giues not Kings the style of Gods in vaine,

To Henrie my dearest Sonne and Natvral Svccessovr.

3 pages.

[† This vindicatory and explanatory Address appeared for the first time in the Second Edition.]

Anent a Kings Christian Dvetie towards God.

The First Booke. Pages 3-26.

Anent a Kings Dvetie in his Office.

The Seconde Booke.

Pages 27—120.

Anent a Kings Behaviour in Indifferent Things.

The Third Booke.

Pages 121-159.

Second, or Corrected Edition: Edinburgh, 1603. (SMALL OCTAVO.) (Published by Authority.)

BAΣIAIKON ΔΩΡΟΝ. or His Maiesties Instructions to His Dearest Sonne, Henry the Prince. Edinburgh Printed by Robert VValde-graue, Printer to the Kings Majestie. cIo.Io.c.iii

[Decorated with a Cut of the Royal Arms of Scotland, with supporters, on the title-page.]

[* This Dedication (in the form of a Sonnet) was omitted in the Second Edition.]

The Argyment.

Sonnet.—God giues not Kings the stile of Gods in vaine,

I leaf.

The Epistle. — To Henry my Dearest Sonne, and Naturall Successor. 9 pages.

To the Reader † 23 pages.

Of a Kings Christian Dvetie to wards God.

The First Booke. Pages 1-21.

Of a Kings Dvetie in his Office.

The Second Booke.

Pages 23-101.

Of a Kings Behaviour in Indifferent Things.

The Third Booke.

Pages 103-134.

ADDITIONS AND VARIATIONS

In the authorised edition printed at Edinburgh, 1603.

*** These Additions and Variations are repeated in all the editions subsequent to that of Edinburgh, 1603; the only alterations being that some few words are spelt differently, a matter of no material consequence, as very little attention was paid in those days to uniformity in orthography.



TO THE READER.

haritable Reader, it is one of the golden fentences, whiche Christ our Sauior vttered to his Apostles, that there is nothing so couered, that shall not be reuealed, neither so hid, that

shall not be knowne: and whatsoeuer they have spoken in darkenesse, should be heard in the light: and that whiche they had spoken in the eare in secret place, should be publiklie preached on the tops of the houses. And fince he hath said it, moste true must it be, fince the authour thereof is the fountaine and very beeing of trueth. Which should move all godlie and honest men, to be very warie in all their fecretest actions, and what so-euer middesses they vse for attayning to their moste wished endes: least otherwayes howe avowable soeuer the marke be, where-at they aime, the middeffes being difcovered to be shamefull, whereby they climbe; it may turne to the disgrace both of the good worke it selfe, and of the authour thereof: since the deep- B_2

deepest of our secrets, can not be hid from that al-seeing eye, and penetrant light, pearcing through the bowels of verie darkenesse it selfe.

But as this is generallie true in the actions of all men, so is it more speciallie true in the affaires of Kings. For Kings being publike perfons, by reason of their office and authoritie, are as it were set (as it was saide of olde) vpon a publicke stage, in the fight of all the people; where all the beholders eyes are attentiuelie bent, to look and pry in the least circumstance of their secreatest driftes. Which should make Kings the more carefull, not to harbour the secretest thought in their minde, but suche as in the owne time they shall not be ashamed openlie to avouche: assuring them selves that time the mother of verity, will in the dewe feafon bring her owne daughter to perfection.

The true practife heer-of, I have as a King oft found in my owne person; thogh I thanke God, never to my shame: having laide my count, ever to walke as in the eyes of the Almightie; examining ever so the secretest of my driftes, before I gave them course, as howe they might some

Some day byde the touchestone of a publike tryall. And amongst the rest of my secret actios, whiche haue (vnlooked for of me) come to publick knowledge, it hath so fared with my Βασιλικον δωρον, directed to my eldest sonne; whiche I wrote for exercise of my owne ingyne, and instruction of him, who is appointed by God (I hope) to fit on my Throne after me. For the purpose and mater thereof being only fit for a King, as teaching him his office; and the person whome-for it was ordayned, a Kings heire, whose secret counsellor and faithfull admonisher it must be; I thought it no waies convenient, nor comelie, that either it should to all be proclaymed, whiche to one onely appertained (& specially being a messinger betuixt two so conjunct persons) or yet that the moulde, whereupon he should frame his future behauior, when he comes both vnto the perfection of his yeares; and possession of his inheritance, should before the hande, be made common to the people, the subject of his future happie government. And therfore for the more fecret, and close-keeping of them, I onily permitted feauen of them to be printed; the printer being first

first sworn for secrecie: and these seauen I dispersed amongst some of my trustiest servands, to be keeped closelie by them: least in-case by the iniquitie, or wearing of time, any of them might have bene loste, yet some of them might have remained after me, as witnesses to my Sonne, both of the honest integritie of my hart, and of my fatherlie affection and naturall care towards him. But fince contrarie to my intention and exspectation, as I have alreadie said, this booke is now vented, and set forth to the publicke viewe of the worlde, and consequentlie, subject to every mans censure, as the current of his affection leades him; I am nowe forced, afwell for refisting to the malice of the children of enuy, who like wasspes, suckes venome out of euery wholsome hearbe; as for the satisfaction of the godly honest sorte, in any thing that they may mistake therein; both to publishe and spred the true copies thereof; for defacing of the false copies that are alreadie spred, as I am enformed: as likewayes, by this preface, to cleare suche parts thereof, as in respect of the concised shortnesse of my style, may be mis-interpreted therein.

To come then particularlie to the mater of my book, there are two speciall great points; whiche (as I am informed) the malitious sorte of men have detracted therein; and some of the honest sorte have seemed a little to mistake: whereof the firste and greatest is, that some sentences therein should seeme to furnishe groundes to men, to doubt of my sinceritie in that Religion, whiche I have ever constantly professed: the other is, that in some partes thereof, I should seeme to nourishe in my minde, a vindictive resolution against England, or at the least, some principalles there, for the Queene my mothers quarrell.

The first calumnie (moste greeuous in-deede) is grounded vpon the sharp & bitter wordes, that therin are vsed in the description of the humours of Puritans, and rasche-headie preachers, that thinke it their honour to contend with Kings, & perturbe whole kingdomes. The other point is onely grounded vpon the straite charge I give my Sonne, not to heare, nor suffer any vnreuerent speaches or bookes against any of his parents or progenitors: wherein I doe alledge my owne

owne experience anent the Queene my mother: affirming that I never founde any, that were of perfite age the time of her raigne here, so stedfastly true to me in al my troubles, as these that constantly kept their alleageance to her in her time. But if the charitable reader will aduisedlie consider, both the methode and mater of my treatife, he will easilie indge, what wrong I have sustained by the carping at both. my booke, suppose very small, being deuyded in three severall parts; the first part thereof onely treates of a Kings duetie towards God in Religion: wherein I have so clearlie made profession of my Religion, calling it the Religion wherein I was brought vp, and ever made profession of, and wishing him ever to continue in the same, as the onely true forme of Gods worship; that I would have thought my finceare plainnesse in that first part upon that subject, shoulde have ditted the mouth of the most envious Momus, that ever hell did hatche, from barking at any other part of my booke vpon that grounde; except they would alledge me to be contrary to my selfe, whiche in so small a volume would smell

of too great weaknesse, and sliprinesse of memorie. And the second part of my booke, teaches my sonne howe to vse his office, in the administration of instice, and politicke government: the third onely contayning a Kings outwarde behauior in indifferent things; what aggreeance and conformitie he ought to keepe betwixt his outward behaviour in these things, and the vertuous qualities of his minde: & howe they should ferue for trunshe-men, to interprete the inwarde disposition of the minde, to the eyes of them that cannot see farther within him, and therefore must onely judge of him by the outward appearance. So as if there were no more to be looked into, but the very methode and order of the booke, it will sufficientlie cleare me of that firste & greeuousest imputation, in the point of Religion: fince in the first part, where Religion is onely treated of, I speake so plainlie. And what in other parts I speake of Puritanes, it is onely one of their morall faultes, in that part where I speake of policie: declaring when they contemne the lawe and soueraigne authoritie, what examplare punishment they deserve for the same.

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And nowe as to the mater it selfe where-vpon this skandale is taken, that I may sufficiently satisfie all honest men, and by a inst apologie raise-vp a brasen wall or bulwark against all the dairts of the enuious, I will the more narrowlie rype-vp the wordes, whereat they seeme to be some-what stomacked.

First then, as to the name of Puritanes, I am not ignorant that the stile thereof doth properly belong only to that vile sect among st the Anabaptistes, called the Familie of love; because they thinke them selves onely pure, and in a manner, without sinne, the onely true churche, and only worthie to be participant of the Sacraments; and all the rest of the worlde to be but abhomination in the fight of God. Of this speciall feet I principallie meane, when I speake of Puritanes; diuerse of them, as Browne, Penrie, and others, hauing at fundrie times come in Scotland, to fowe their popple amongst vs (and from my hart I wishe, that they had left no schollers behinde them, who by their fruites will in the owne time be manifested) and partly, indeede, I give this style to such bransicke and headie preachers their-

disciples and followers, as refusing to be called of that fect, yet participates too muche with their humours, in maintayning the aboue mentioned errours; not onely aggreeing with the generall rule of all Anabaptistes, in the contempt of the ciuill Magistrate, and in leaning to their owne dreames and revelations; but particularly with this sect, in accounting all men prophane that sweares not to all their fantases; in making for euery particulare question of the policie of the churche, as great commotion, as if the article of the Trinity were called in controverse; in making the scriptures to be ruled by their conscience, & not their conscience by the Scripture; and he that denyes the least iote of their groundes, sit tibi tanquam ethnicus & publicanus; not worthie to enioy the benefite of breathing, muche leffe to participate with them of the Sacraments: and before that any of their groundes be impugned, let King, people, lawe & all be tred under foote. Suche holie warres are to be preferred to an vngodlie peace: no, in suche cases, Christian princes are not onely to be refifted unto, but not to be prayed for. For prayer must come of Faith, and C2

and it is revealed to their consciences, that GOD will heare no prayer for suche a Prince. then, Christian reader, if I wrong this fort of people, in giving them the style of that sect, whose errours they imitate: and since they are contented to weare their liverie, let them not be ashamed to borrowe also their name. It is only of this kinde of men, that in this book I write so sharplie; and whome I wishe my Sonne to punishe, in-case they refuse to obey the lawe, and will not cease to stur-vp a rebellion. against I have written the more bitterlie, in respect of divers famous libels, & iniurious speaches spred by some of them, not onely dishonourably inueftiue against all Christian princes, but even reprochefull to our profession and religion, in respect they are come out under coullour thereof: and yet were neuer answered but by Papists, who generally medle aswell against them, as the religion it selfe; whereby the skandale was rather doubled, then taken away. But on the other part, I protest vpon mine honour, I meane it not generally of all preachers, or others, that likes better of the fingle forme of policie in

our

our churche, then of the manie ceremonies in the churche of England; that are perswaded, that their Bishops smels of a Papall supremacie, that the Surplife, the cornerd cap, and suche like. are the outward badges of Popishe errours. I am so farre from beeing contentious in these things, (whiche for my owne parte I euer esteemed as indifferent) as I doe æquallie loue and honour the learned and grave men of either of these opinions. It can no-wayes become me to pronounce so lightly a sentence, in so olde a controuerse. We all (God be praised) doe aggree in the groundes, and the bitternesse of men vpon fuche questions, doth but trouble the peace of the churche; and gives advantage and entry to the Papists by our division. But towards them, I onely vse this provision, that where the Lawe is otherwayes, they may content them felues soberly and quyetlie with their owne opinions, not refifting to the authoritie, nor breaking the lawe of the countrie; neither aboue all, sturring any rebellion or schisme: but possessing their soules in peace, let them preasse by patience, and well grounded reasons, either to perswade all the rest

to lyke of their indgements; or where they fee better groundes on the other part, not to be ashamed peaceablie to incline thereunto, laying asyde all præoccupied opinions.

And that this is the onely meaning of my booke, and not any coldenesse or cracke in Religion, that place doth plainly witnesse, where, after I have spoken of the faultes in our Ecclefiasticall estate, I exhort my sonne to be beneficiall vnto the good men of the ministry; prayfing God there, that there is presently a fufficient nomber of good men of them in this kingdome: and yet are they all knowne to be against the forme of the Englishe churche. fo farre I am in that place from admitting corruption in Religion, as I wishe him in promoouing them, to vse suche caution, as may præserue their estate from creeping to corruption; ever vfing that forme through the whole booke, where euer I speake of bad preachours, tearming them some of the ministers, and not ministers or ministrie in generall. And to conclude this point of Religion, what indifferencie of Religion can Momus call that in me, where, speaking of my **fonnes**

fonnes mariage (in-cace it pleased God before that time to cut the threed of my life) I plainly fore-warne him of the inconvenients that wer like to ensewe, in-case he should mary any that be of a different profession in Religion from him: notwithstanding that the nomber of Princes professing our Religion be so small, as it is hard to for-see, howe he can be that way, meetlie matched according to his ranke.

And as for the other point, that by some parts in this booke, it should appeare, that I doe nourishe in my minde, a vindictive resolution against England, or some principals there; it is furelie more then wonderfull vnto me, vpon what groundes they can have gathered suche concluhons. For as voo the one part, I neither by name nor description point out England in that part of my discourse; so vpon the other, I plainlie bewray my meaning to be of Scottishmen, where I conclude that purpose in these "termes: that the love I beare to my Sonne, "hath mooued me to be so plaine in this argu-"ment: for so that I discharge my conscience to "him in vttering the verity, I care not what any "tvai-

"traitour or treason-allower do think of it. And English-me could not therby be meant, since they could be no traitors, where they ought no alleageance. I am not ignorant of a wise and princelie apothegme, whiche the same Queene of England vttered about the time of her owne coronation. But the drift of that discourse doth fully cleare my intention, being onely grounded vpon that præcept to my Sonne, that he should not permit any vnreuerent detracting of his predecessors; bringing in that purpose of my mother only for an example of my experience anent Scottishmen, without vfing any perswasion to him of revenge. For a Kings giving of any fault the dewe stile, inferres no reduction of the faulters pardon. No, I am by a degree nearer of kinne vnto my mother then he is, neither thinke I my selfe, either that vn-worthie, or that neare my ende, that I neede to make suche a Dauidicall testament; since I have euer thoght it the duetie of a worthie Prince. rather with a pike, then a pen, to write his iust revenge. But in this mater I have no delite to be large, wishing all men to iudge of my future proiects, according to my bypast actions.

Thus

Thus having as muche infisted in the clearing of these two pointes, as will (I hope) give sufficient satisfaction to all honest men, and leaving the enuyous to the foode of their owne venome: I will hartlie pray thee, louing reader, charitably to coceaue of my honest intetion in this booke. I knowe the greatest part of the people of this whole Ile, have bene very curious for a fight thereof: some for the love they beare me, either being particularlie acquainted with me, or by a good reporte that perhappes they have heard of me; & therfore longed to see any thing, that proceeded from that authour whome they so loued & honoured; fince bookes are viue Idees of the authours minde. Some onely for meere curiositie, that thinks it their honour to knowe all newe things, were curious to glut their eyes there-with, onely that they might vaunt them to have sene it: and some fraughted with cause-les enuy at the authour, did greedilie searche out the booke, thinking their stomack fitte ynough, for turning neuer so wholesome foode in noysome and infectiue humours. So as this their great concurrence in curiofitie (though proceeding from farre diffe-

rent

rent complexions) hath enforced the vn-tymous divulgating of this booke, farre contrarie to my intention, as I have alreadie saide. hydra of diversie enclined spectators, I have no targe to oppone but plainnesse, patience, & sinceritie: plainnesse, for resoluing and satisfying of the first sorte; patience, for to beare with the shallownesse of the next; & sinceritie to defie the malice of the third with-all. Though I cannot please all men therein, I am contented so that I onely please the vertuous sorte: & though they also finde not every thing therein, so fullie to answere their exspectation, as the argumet would feeme to requyre; althouh I would wishe them modestlie to remëber, that God has not bestowed all his guifts vpo one, but parted them by a Iuftice distributive; and that many eies sees more then one; and that the varietie of mens mindes is suche, that tot capita tot sensus; yea & that eue the very faces, that God hath by nature brought foorth in the world, do every one in some of their particular lineaments, differ from any other: yet in truth it was not my intention in handling of this purpose (as it is easy to percease) fully to Set

fet down heere all suche grounds, as might out of the best writers have bene alledged, & out of my owne invention and experience added, for the persite institutio of a King: but onely to give some suche præceptes to my owne Sonne, for the gouernement of this kingdome, as was meetest for him to be instructed in, and best became me to be the informer of.

If I in this booke have bene too particularlie plaine, impute it to the necessity of the subject, not so muche being ordayned for the institution of a Prince in generall, as I have saide, as contayning particular præcepts to my Sonne in speciall: whereof he could have made but a generall vse, if they had not contained the particular diseases of this kingdome, with the best remedies for the same; whiche it became me best as a King, having learned both the theorick and practick thereof, more plainlie to expresse, then any simple schoole-man, that onely knowes maters of kingdomes by contemplation.

But if in some places it seeme too obscure, impute it to the shortnesse thereof, beeing both for the respect of my selfe, and of my Sonne, con-D2 strayned strayned there-unto: my owne respect, for fault of leafure, being so continually occupied in the affaires of my office, as my great burthen, & restlesse fashery is more then knowne, to all that knowes or heares of me: for my Sonnes respect, because I knowe by my selfe, that a Prince so long as he is young, will be so carried away with some sorte of delight or other, that he cannot patientlie abyde the reading of any large volume: and when he commes to a full maturity of age, he must be so busied in the active part of his charge, as he will not be permitted to bestowe many houres vpon the contemplative part therof. So as it was neither fitte for him, nor possible for me, to have made this treatife any more ample then it is. In-deede I am little beholden to the curiositie of fome, who thinking it too large already (as appeares) for lack of leafure to copie it, drewe some notes out of it, for speeds sake; putting in the one halfe of the purpose, and leaving out the other: not vnlike the man that alleadged that part of the Pfalme, non est Deus; but left out the praceeding wordes, Dixit infipiens in corde fuo. And of these notes, making a little pamphlet (lack-

(lacking both my methode and halfe of my mater) entituled it, for sooth, the Kings Testament: as if I had eiked a third Testament of my owne, to the two that are in the holy Scriptures. true that in a place thereof, for affirmation of the purpose I am speaking of to my Sonne, I bring my selfe in there, as speaking upon my Testament: for in that sense, every recorde in write of a mans opinion in any thing (in respect that papers out-lives their authours) is as it were a Testament of that mans will in that cace: and in that sense it is, that in that place I call this treatise a Testament. But from any particular sentence in a booke, to give the booke it felfe a title, is as ridiculous, as to stile the booke of the Psalmes, the book of Dixit insipiens, because with these words one of them doth begin.

Well, leaving these newe baptizers and blockers of other mes bookes, to their own follies, I returne to my purpose, anent the shortnesse of this booke: suspecting that all my excuses for the shortnesse thereof, shall not satisfie some, especiallie in our neighbour countrie: who thought, that as I have so narrowly in this treatise touched all the prin-

principall sicknesses in our kingdome, with ouertures for the remedies therof, as I said before: so looked they to have found something therin, that should have touched the sicknesses of their state, in the like fort. But they will easilie excuse me thereof, if they will consider the forme I have vsed in this treatise; wherein I onely teache my Sonne, out of my owne experience, what forme of gouernment is fittest for this kingdome: & in one parte thereof speaking of the bordours, I plainlie there do excuse my selfe, that I will speake no thing of the state of England, as a mater wherein I neuer had experience. I knowe, in-deed, no kingdome lackes her owne diseases, and likewayes what interest I have in the prosperitie of that state: for although I would be silent, my blood & discent doth sufficiently proclaime it. But notwithstanding, since there is a lawfull Queene there presently raigning, who hath so long with so great wisedome & falicity governed her kingdoms, as (I must in true sinceritie confesse) the like hath not bene read nor heard of, either in our time, or fince the dayes of the Romane Emperour Augustus; it could no wayes become me, farre

farre inferiour to her in knowledge and experience, to be a busie-body in other Princes maters, and to sisse in other folkes waters, as the prouerbe is. No, I hope by the contrary (with Gods grace) ever to keep that Christian rule, To doe as I would be done to: and I doubt no thing, yea even in her name I dare promise, by the bypast experience of her happy government, as I have already said, that no good subject shall be more carefull to enforme her of any corruptions stolle in in her state; then she shall be zealous for the discharge of her conscience and honour, to see the same purged, and restored to the auncient integritie: and further, during her time, becommes me least of any to medle in.

And thus having refolued all the doubts, fo farre as I can imagine, may be mooved against this treatise; it onely rests to pray thee (charitable reader) to interprete favourably this birth of mine, according to the integritie of the authour, and not looking for perfection in the worke it selfe. As for my part, I onely glory therof in this point, that I trust no sort of vertue is condemned nor any degree of vice allowed in it:

and

and that (though it be not perhaps so gorgeously decked, and richely attyred as it ought to be) it is at the least rightly proportioned in all the members, without any mostrous deformity in any of the: and speciallie that since it was first written in secret, and is nowe published, not of ambition, but of a kinde of necessity; it must be taken of all me, for the true image of my very minde, and forme of the rule, whiche I have præscrived to my selfe and mine. Whiche as in all my actions I have hitherto preassed to expresse, so farre as the nature of my charge, and the condition of time would permit me: so beareth it a discouery of that, whiche may be looked for at my hand, and where-to, even in my secrete thoughts, I have engaged my felf for the time to come. thus in a firme trust, that it shall please God, who with my being and Crowne, gaue me this minde, to maintaine and augment the same in me, and my posteritie, to the discharge of our conscience, the maintenance of our honor, and weale of our people, I bid thee hartelie

fare-well.

ADDITIONS AND VARIATIONS

(continued).

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TO HENRIE MY DEAREST SONNE AND NATVRAL SVCCESSOVR. [A 4.]

Institution of a Prince [A 4]line 5]

failzie [A 4. rev. line 13]

this whole booke [A 4. rev. line 17]

* teacheth [A 4. rev. line 18]

I end this preface, with my earnest prayer [B 1. line 26] Finis [B 1. line 30.]

ANENT A KINGS CHRIS-TIAN DVETIE TO-WARDS GOD. [B 2.]

THE FIRST BOOKE.

4 I for (as DAVID saith) In vaine watchest thou the Citie, or buyldest thou the house, if the Lord by his blessing grant not successe therunto [Psalm 127. 1.]; & as PAVL saith, CEPHAS may plant, & APOLLO may water, but it is God only that may give the increase. [1 Cor. 3. 6.]

5 11 draweth

6 14 Search the scriptures (saith Christ) for they wil bear testimony of me: And the whole Scriptures (saith PAVL) are profitable to teach, to improoue, to correct, & to instruct in righteousnes, that the man of God may be abTO HENRY MY DEAREST SONNE, AND NATVRALL SVCCESSOVR. [A 4.]

instructiones to a Prince [A 4. line 5]

failing [A 5. rev. line 2]

this treatise [A 5. rev. line 11]

informeth [A 5. rev. line 16] I end, with my earnest praier [A 8. line 1]

Your louing Father I. R. [A 8. lines 8-9.]

OF A KINGS CHRISTIAN DVETIE TOWARDS GOD. [C 1.]

THE FIRST BOOKE.

- 1 16 for (as that royall prophet saith) Except the Lorde build the house, they laboure in vaine that builde it: except the Lord keepe the Citie, the keepers watche it in vaine: [Psalme. 127. 1] in respect the blessing of God hath onlie power to giue the successe thereunto: and as Paul saith, he planteth, Apollos watereth; but it is GOD only that giveth the increase. [1 Cor. 3. 6.]
- 3 6 drawing
- 4 3 Searche the Scriptures, saith Christ, for they beare testimonie of me: [Iohn.5.39] and the whole Scripture, saith Paul, is given by inspiration of God, & is profitable to teache, to convince, to correcte, & to instructe in righteousnes;

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6 20 solute, being made perfit vnto al good works.

- 7 5 beware ye thraw not the word to your appetite
 - 11 The whole Scripture contayneth but two things:
 - 19 And as in thir two poyntes the whole Scripture consisteth,
- 8 12 your Fathers foote-steppes and your owne education therein.
 - 19 that al my Religion was grounded vpon the plaine words of the Scripture, I had neuer
- the Scripture, I had neuer outwardly avowed it, for pleasure or awe of the vaine pride of some sedicious Preachours.
- 19 remember onely this methode.
- 10 II The summe of the Lawe is the ten Commandes, more largelie dilated in the Lawe, interpreated by the Prophets:
 - 14 examples showen
- 7 the Lawe of Grace, is contayned in the foure histories of the birth, life, death, and resurrection of Christ.

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- Page. Line. that the man of God may be 4 absolute, being made perfite vnto all good workes. [2 Tim. 3. 16, 17.] And most properlie of any other, belongeth the reading thereof vnto Kings, [Deut. 17.] since in that parte of Scripture, where the godly Kings are first made mention off, that were ordained to rule ouer the people of God, there is an expresse and most notable exhortation and commandement giuen them, to read and meditate in the lawe of God.
 - 23 beware ye wreast not the word to your own appetite
- 5 3 The whole Scripture cheefly contayneth two things:
 - II And as in these two poyntes, the whole Scripture principally consisteth,
 - 25 my foote-steppes, and your owne present education therein.
- 6 5 that all my Religion presently professed by me and my kingdome, was grounded vpon the plaine wordes of the Scripture, without the whiche all points of Religion are superfluous, as any thing contrary to the same is abhomination, I had neuer outwardly avowed it, for pleasure or awe of any fleshe.
- 7 3 remember shortly this methode.
 - 15 The summe of the Lawe is the ten Commandementes, more largelie delated in the bookes of Moses, interpreted and applyed by the Prophets,
 - 20 examples shewed
- 8 5 the word of grace, is contained in the foure histories of the birthe, life, death, resurrection and ascention of Christ.

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 II The larger interpretation of this
 Law is contained in the Epistles of the Apostles: and the
 practise in the faithfull or unfaithful, together with their
 rewarde or punishement according thereto, is contayned
 in the Actes of the Apostles.
- 12 I Reade the Prophets: would ye see, how good-men are rewarded, and wicked punished? look the histories of GENESIS, EXODUS, IOSVA, the IVDGES, IOB, and ESTER,

- 13 know the life and death of Christ? looke the Euangelists.
- 13 3 as like the ditement of the spirite of God, as an Egge is to an Oyster.
 - 7 a sanctified & chast eare:
 - 9 onelie your owne incapacitie
 - 16 farther nor is contayned therein, for that were misnurtured presumption,
- 14 5 numbers & genealogies

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 8 8 The larger interpretation and vse thereof, is contained in the Epistles of the Apostles: and the practise in the faithfull or vnfaithfull, with the history of the infancy and first progresse of the churche is contayned in their Actes.
 - 18 Reade the Prophets, and likewise the bookes of the Prouerbs & Ecclesiastes, written by that great paterne of wisdome Salomon; whiche will not onlie serue you for in-struction, howe to walke in the obedience of the Lawe of God, but is also so full of golden sentences, & morall precepts, in all things that can concerne your conuersation in the worlde, as amonge all the prophane Philosophers and Poets, ye shall not find so riche a storehouse of precepts of naturall wisedome, agreing with the will & diuine wisedome of God. Would ye see how good men are re-warded, and wicked punished? looke the historicall partes of these same bookes of Moses, together with the histories of *Iosua*, the *Iudges*, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, and Iob:
 - 9 18 knowe the doctrine, life and death of our Sauiour Christ? reade the Euangelistes.
- to 3 no wayes like the dytement of the Spirite of God.
 - 6 a sanctified and chaste hart.
 - 9 only your owne capacitie
 - 16 then is contained therein; for that were ouer vnmanerly a presumption,
 - 25 genealogies and contentions

Page. Line.

8 Faith which is the intertayner & quickner of Religion

15 I in your bed: for publik praier serueth more for example (for the most part) then for any particuler comfort to the supplicant.

8 our vain proud puritanes

17 presume to crak with God

- 20 thinges spirituall but corporall, whiles thinges of greater, and whiles of lesse consequence,
- 16 10 prayer without faith is sinne (as PAVL saith).
 - 14 as the Widdow did Christ:
- 17 13 Conscience... which choppeth
- 18 7 will be accused of ... (yea if wee forget) it will choppe, and remember vs to looke upon,

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11 2 Faith, whiche is the nourisher and quickner of Religion,

- 15 As for teaching you the forme of your prayers, the Psalmes of Dauid are the meetest schoole-maister that ye can be acquainted with (nixt the prayer of our Saujour, whiche is the only rule of prayer) whereout of as of most riche and pure fountaines, ye may learne all forme of prayer necessary for your cofort at all occasions. And so much the fitter ar they for you, then for the comon sorte, in respect the composer thereof was a King: & therefore best behoued to know a Kings wants, & what things were meetest to be required by a king at Gods hand for remedy thereof.
- 5 forgette it not in your bed howe oft soeuer ye doe it at other times: for publick prayer serueth as muche for exaple, as...to the supplicant.
 - 14 the vaine Pharisaicall puritanes
 - 24 presume to talke with God
 - 27 things spirituall, but also things temporall, sometimes of greater, & sometimes of lesse consequence;
- 13 11 whatsoeuer is done without faith is sinne, as the Apostle saith.
 - 15 as the widow did the vnrighteous Iudge:
- 14 10 conscience whiche euer watching ouer all his actions, as it beareth him a joyfull testimonie when he does right, so choppeth it him
- 27 shall be accused of ... (yea 15 3 though we forgette) will choppe, and remember vs to look vpon it;

Page. Line.

19 13 And for superstition, the worde
it selfe is plaine ynough, being vocabulum artis.

20 19 far greeuouser before God

21 20 suppose but in mowes

22 3 inexcusable before God

9 if anything be speered at

13 vsing this answer whiles ...
that wil be speered at you,
these misnurtured people

18 that siknes of Superstition, which is called Morbus animi, yee muste neither laye

23 8 an arrogant glaikerie

24 18 they would urge

20 in place of Gods word

25 2 acknowledge them for vaine people passing

10 Keepe God sparinglie in your mouth

26 I to give almes secretly

ANENT A KINGS DVETIE IN HIS OFFICE. [E 2.]

THE SECONDE BOOKE.

28 5 according to that old verse, Regis ad exemplum &c.

18 a praye to his appetites

29 1 actiones (as middeses)

30 11 and in ende

renoume

8 some notable plague misseth

Second Edition.

Page. Line.

15 25 And by superstition, I meane,
when one restraines himselfe
to any other rule in the ser-

16 i uice of God, then is warranted by the worde, the onlie true square of Gods seruice.

17 I farre more grieuous before God

23 suppose but in jeste

26 more inexcusable euen in the sight of men

18 5 if any thing be asked at

10 vsing sometimes this answere
...that shall be asked at you,
suche vnmannerlie people

16 that siknes of superstition, ye must neither lay, etc.

25 an arrogant vanitie

20 4 they vrge

6 in the place of Gods word

8 acknowledge the for no other then vaine men, exceeding

16 Keepe God more sparingly in your mouth

21 1 to pray and giue your almes secretly

OF A KINGS DVETIE IN HIS OFFICE. [D 4.]

THE SECOND BOOKE.

24 3 according to the notable saying of *Plato*, expressed by the Poet

vita regentis.

... Componitur orbis
Regis ad exemplum, nec sic
inflectere sensus
Humanos edicta valent, quàm

Claudian.

21 a pray to his passions & inordinate appetites

26 actions, as meanes

26 2 and in the end

II renowne

18 some notable plague faileth

Page. Line.

31 9 the committers, who will bee in-famous to all posteryties:

19 neighboures:

32 20 Ex malis moribus bonæ Leges:

33 6 Parliaments are onlie ordeined for making of Laws, so abuse yee not their constitution

35 7 yone

9 Vtinam nescirem literas

36 20 number

37 I exceed the punishers

5 wrak manie, which

7 my ouer-deare cost experience

14 the tinsell of my thankes

38 5 treason against your owne persone

14 if I would

18 the vnreuerent writing or speaking of your Parents and Predecessours

39 4 dishonored by any:

11 as any Prince lyuing, Sepeliatur synagoga cum honore: and I praye you, how can they loue you that hate them whome of yee are come?

40 I loue of the father 3 hate the Parents.

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Page. Line.
26 19 the committers in this life, besides their infamie to all posterities heerafter.

27 2 neighbours.

26 ex malis moribus bonæ leges natæ sunt:

28 5 Parliamentes have bene ordained for making of lawes, so ye abuse not their institution

29 19 that

20 Vellem nescirē literas.

30 26 nomber

27 exceed the innocent

31 4 wracke manie, whome

7 my ouer-deare bought experi-

14 the losse of my thankes

25 offences against your owne person

32 7 if I should

11 the false and vnreuerent writing or speaking of malicious men against your Parents and Predecessors

ly, sith the example also toucheth your selfe, in leauing therby to your successors, the measure of that whiche they shall mette out againe to you in your like behalf.

33 5 as any Prince liuing, represse the insolence of suche, as vnder pretence to taxe a vice in the person, seekes craftily to staine the race, and to steale the affection of the people from their posteritie. For howe can they loue you, that hated them whome-of ye are come?

19 loue of the race

21 hate the Parentes: as on the other parte, the infaming and

Page. Line.
40 4 And for conclusion

- 41 13 nor spare no paines in your person
 - 16 Grand-father
- 42 3 as King DAVID sayeth
 - 8 nor crosse your enemies
 - 16 that are barbarous
- 43 6 As for the other sorte, thinke no other of them all, then as of Wolues and Wilde Boares:

 And therefore followe foorth the course that I haue begunne, in planting Colonies among them of answerable In-landes subjectes, that within shorte time maye roote them out and plant civilitie in their roomes.
- 44 14 euerie ranke of your people in this country is most subject vnto
- 45 8 rather vertue nor vice
 - 11 subject vnto them, Nam nulla regula tam generalis quæ non patiatur exceptionem, But that I meane
- 46 11 But the reformation of Religion in Scotland being made by a popular tumult and rebellion (as wel appeared by the destruction of our policie) & not proceeding from the Princes ordour (as it did in England)

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- Page. Line.

 33 23 making odious of the parent, is the readiest way to bring the sonne in cōtempt. And for conclusion
- 35 2 neither spare ye any paines in your own person
 - 5 grand-father of worthy memory
 - 12 as Moyses sayeth
 - 18 or seek to crosse your enemies
 - 26 that are barbarous for the most parte
- 36 9 As for the other sort, followe foorth the course that I haue intended, in planting Colonies among them of answerable In-lands subjects, that within short time may reforme and civilize the best inclined among them: rooting out or transporting the barbarous and stubborne sorte, and planting civilitie in their roomes.
- 37 12 enery rank of the people of this country is most affected vnto.
- 38 I rather vertue then vice
 - 3 subject vnto them; for there is good and euill of all sortes: but that I meane
 - 23 But the reformation of Religion in Scotland, being extraordinarily wrought by God, wherein many things were inordinatly done by a populare tumult & rebellion, of suche as blindly were doing the work of God, but clogged with their owne passions & particular respects, as well appeared by the destruction of our policie; and not proceeding from the Princes ordour, as it did in our neighbour coutry of England, as likewise in Den-

Page. Line.

- 46 16 some of our fyerie ministers got such a guyding of the people
- 47 5 syne of my own mother 9 with that hope
 - 15 but they were euer vpon the wrong end of it; quarrelling me (not for any euil or vice in me)
- 48 4 and yet (for all their cunning) some of them would whiles snapper out
 - 13 And because there was euer some learned & honest men of the Ministrie, that were ashamed of the presumption of these sedicious people, there could be no waie founde out so meete for maynteyning their plottes, as Paritie in the Church.
- 49 4 Vnitie, which is the mother of ordour; by the example whereof in the Ecclesiastical! gouernement, they think (with time) to draw the politick and ciuil gouernment to the like. Take heede therefore (my Sonne) to these Puritanes, verie pestes in the Church and common-weill of Scotland; whom (by long ex-

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- 39 9 marke, and sundry parts of Germanie; some fierie spirited men in the ministerie, gote suche a guyding of the people
 - 19 next of my owne mother
 - 24 with the hope
- 40 3 but they that were vpon that factious parte, were euer carefull to perswade & allure these vnrulie spirits among the ministerie, to spouse that quarrell as their owne: wherthrough I was oft-times calumniated in their populare sermons, not for any euill or vice in me,
 - 18 and yet for all their cunning, whereby they pretended to distinguishe the lawfulnes of the office, from the vice of the person, some of them would some-times snapper out
 - 3 And because the learned, graue, and honest men of the ministerie, were euer ashamed and offended with their temeritie and presumption, preassing by all good meanes by their authority and example, to reduce them to a greater moderation; there could be no way found out so meete in their conceit, that were turbulent spirites among them, for maintaining their plottes, as paritie in the churche:
 - 18 Vnitie whiche is the mother of ordour. For if by the example thereof, once established in the Ecclesiasticall gouernment, the Politicke and ciuill estate should be drawne to the like, the greate confusion that therenpon would arise, may easilie be discerned. Take heede therefore (my Sonne)

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- 49 12 perience) I haue found, no desertes can oblish, oathes nor promises binde,
- 50 2 I neuer founde with anie Hieland or Bordour thieves so greate ingratitude, and so many lyes & vile perjuries, as I haue found with some of them:
 - 14 lacketh not a reasonable number
 - 16 by their prefermente to Bishopprickes
 - 20 bannish their Paritie (which can not agree with a Monarchie) but yee shall also reestablishe
- 51 8 follow yee my foote-steppes:
 And the first that raileth
 against you, punishe with the
 rigour of the lawe; for I haue
 else in my dayes bursten
 them with ouer-much reason.
 - 20 planted with good Pastoures: the doctrine and discipline maynteined in puritie
- 52 10 being euer alike war with both the extreamities
- 53 6 The naturall siknesses
- 54 18 feare not their orping nor taking the pet
- 55 4 Gentle-men, as may make them perte to make their owne sutes to you them-selues, without making a bogle of

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- Page. Line.

 41 26 to suche Puritanes, very pestes in the Churche, & cōmon-weale: whome no deserts can oblishe, neither oathes or promises binde;
- 42 12 ye shall neuer finde with any
 Hie-land or Bordour theeues
 greater ingratitude, and moe
 lies and vile perjuries, then
 with these phanatick spirites.
 - 25 there lacketh not a sufficient number
 - 26 by their prouision to Bishopricks
- 43 3 bannish their conceited Paritie,
 whereof I haue spoken,
 and their other imaginarie
 groundes; whiche can neither
 stand with the ordour of the
 Churche, nor the peace of a
 common-weale and well ruled
 Monarchie: but ye shall also
 re-establishe
 - 15 followe ye my steppes.
 - 23 planted with good Pastors, the Schooles (the seminary of the church) maintained, the doctrine and discipline preserued in puritie
- 44 9 being euer alike ware with both the extremities
 - 25 The naturall sicknesse
- 46 4 feare not their orping or being discontented
 - Io Gentle-men, & be in your giuing accesse so open and affable to euery ranke of honest persons, as may make them pearte without scarring at you, to make their owne sutes to you them-selues, and

- Pare, Line.
- 55 7 you, in making the greate Lordes their intercessours
- 56 I while yee roote out
 - 2 may as wel be smoared downe
 - 5 if this treatise were written to you
- 57 6 The frequentlier
 - 19 dinging euer in their eares
- 58 7 hinder
 - 8 law in this cuntry, ar thir
 - 11 wracketh the whole country
 - 15 sleuthfull that the lawe will permit, and aye
 - 20 lowable custome of Englande
- 59 5 our Burghes... Thir Burghes (I saie) are composed of two sorts of men; to wit, Merchants and Craftes-men, enery one of thir sortes being subject to their owne infirmities.
 - 19 bringing back whiles vnnecessarie and whiles nothinge;
- 60 3 suppose the victualles
 - 7 according to the Persian laws that can not be abbrogated:
 - 9 Coinzie
 - 13 put good lawes in execution
- 61 2 cheepe wares, not bying it
 - 11 Coinzie, make your Coinzie fine Golde and Silver, and garre the people be payed
 - 15 Keepe a greate pose to the fore.
- 62 5 vp must the blewe-blanket
 - 17 Lande
- 63 4 For remedie whereof (besides the execution of the lawes that would be vsed against vnreuerent speakers) certaine

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- Page. Line.
 46 16 not to employ the great
 Lordes their intercessours.
- 47 3 vntill ye roote out
 - 4 may be as well smoared downe
 - 7 if this treatise were written
- 48 2 the more frequently
 - 15 beating euer in their eares
 - 23 hinderance
 - 24 lawes in this countrie, are these
 - 27 do wracke the whole country
- 49 5 slouthfull, that the lawe will permit: & euer
 - 10 laudable custome of England:
 - 15 our Burghes... they are composed of two sortes of men; Merchants and Craftes-men: either of these sortes being subject to their owne infirmities.
- 50 1 bringing back some-times vnnecessary things, and at other times nothing at all.
 - 6 albeit the victuals
 - 10 being as constant in that their enill custome, as if it were a settled lawe for them.
 - 14 coyne
 - 17 put the good laws
 - 26 cheape wares, not buying them
- 51 9 make your money of fine Golde & Siluer; causing the people be payed
 - 14 haue a great treasure laid vp in store,
 - 23 vp goeth the blew-blanket
- 52 9 Kingdome
 - 15 For remedie whereof (besides the execution of lawes that are to be vsed against vnreuerent speakers) I know no better meane, the so to rule, as may justly stop their

Page. Line.

63 7 dayes in the yeare would be appoynted,

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Page. Line. 52 20

mouthes, from all suche idle and vnreuerent speaches: and so to prop the weale of your people, with prouident care for their good gouernment; that justly, Momus himself may have no grounde to grudge at: and yet so to temper and mixe your seueritie with myldenesse, that as the vn-just railers may be restrayned with a reuerent awe; so the good and louing subjectes, may not onely liue in suretie and wealth, but be stirred vp and invited by your benigne courtesies, to open their mouthes in the just praise of your so well mode-rated regiment. In respect whereof, and there-with also the more to allure them to a common amitie among themselues, certaine dayes in the yeare would be appointed,

- 16 Yule
- 17 Fish in Lentron
- 64 I unlawfull sportes vsed: And this forme of alluring the people, hath bene vsed in all well gouerned Republickes.
 - 8 I haue not spared to playe the bairde against all the estates of my kingdome;
- 65 3 visie the principall parts of the cuntry ye were in
 - 13 come athort.
- 66 2 committed uppon others;

- 53 21 Christmasse
 - 22 fishe in lent
 - 26 vn-lawfull pastime be vsed.

 And this forme of contenting the peoples mindes, hath beene vsed in all well gouerned Republicks: so will it make you to performe in your gouernmet that olde good sentence,
- 54 5 Omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit vtile dulci.
 - 10 I haue not spared to be something satyrick, in touching wel quickly the faultes in all the estates of my kingdome.
 - 26 visit the principall parts of the country, ye shal be in for the time:
- 55 11 come in those parts.
 - 20 committed amongst themselues;

Page. Line. 66 14 truethfull

18 your selfe

20 Supplie therefore, nor truste not other

67 16 that Art is better learned by practise nor speculation

68 4 no Necro-mancier nor Prophet

9 Soath-sayers

11 neither committe your quarrel to be tryed by a Duell, for it is a committing of it to a Lot, & there is no warrant for it in the Scripture sen the abbrogating of the old Law.

69 I Chose

3 in Discipline

9 mutinies (which in warres is wonderfull daungerous

18 of them that are skilfullest

71 14 by the thraldome of good lawes well execute to gouerne his people, if he ioyne not therewith

72 13 by your shaddow

73 8 charge, Omnis etenim virtus in actione consistit.

12 followers, as ye ought to have a great care for the ruling well of all your subjectes, so Second Edition.

Page. Line. 56 7 trueth-full

11 your owne self

12 Supplie not therefore, nor trust not other

57 2 that arte is largelie treated of by many, and is better learned by practise then speculation

10 no Necromancier nor false Prophet

14 Suth-sayers

16 Neither commit your quarrell to be tried by a Duell: for beside that generally all Duell appeareth to be vnlawfull, committing the quarrell, as it were, to a lot; whereof there is no warrant in the Scripture since the abrogating of the olde Lawe: it is speciallie moste vn-lawfull in the person of a King: who being a publick person hath no power therefore to dispose of himself, in respect, that to his præseruation or fall, the safety or wrack of the whole common-weale is necessarily coupled, as the body is to the heade.

58 to Choose

13 in martiall Discipline

19 mutinies whiche in warres are wonderfull dangerous.

59 2 of suche as are skilfullest

60 12 by the scepter of good lawes well execute to gouerne, & by force of armes to protect his people; if he joynes not therewith

61 6 by your image

22 charge: Virtutis enim laus omnis in actione consistit.

25 followers; King Dauid sets downe the best preceptes, that any wise and christian

Page. Line.

- 73 14 ought yee to haue a double care
- 74 3 that will be an examplar excuse
 - 7 poyntes yee would take good heede
 - 10 in careful ruling them
 - 15 great helpes to Nature, Habitudo being most justly called altera Natura
- 75 9 be brought up
 - 18 For suppose that anima non venit ex traduce
- 76 7 that smitteth in the seede
- 77 2 that ye know them to be guyltie
 - 12 according to his gifts
 - 15 setting your eye vppon
 - 20 to prefer
- 78 9 theirs louers
 - 10 ye shall kithe
 - 13 missing your old master
 - 16 after my death
 - 20 yee muste discerne
- 79 2 are bona Fortunæ
 - 5 hearte
 - 7 to kithe
 - 12 bring not hame
 - 13 fore-falted
- 81 17 answerable
- 82 2 free of all factiones and partialities: preferring them (as ye wil be answerable to God) only for their worthinesse, and

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- Page. Line.
 61 27 King can practise in that point. For as ye ought to
- 62 13 that will not be an exemplare excuse
 - 16 points haue ye to take good heede
 - 19 in carefully ruling them
 - 24 great helpes to Nature, and education be therefore moste justly called altera natura
- 63 12 be broght vp
 - 22 For though anima non venit ex traduce
- 64 5 that infects in the seede
 - 20 that ye knew them to be guiltie of
- 65 4 according to his guiftes
 - 7 setting your eyes vpon
 - 12 to præferre
 - 21 their louers
 - 22 ye shall kyth
 - 25 missing their old maister
- 66 2 when God shall call me
 - 6 ye must not discerne
 - 8 are called Bona fortunæ
 - 11 bart
 - 13 to kyth
 - 18 bring not home
 - 20 forefaulted
- 68 13 answer-able
 - 18 free of all factions and partialities: but speciallie free of that filthy vice of Flattery, the pest of all Princes, and wracke of Republickes. For since in the firste part of this treatise, I for-warned you to be warre with your owne inward flatterer φιλαυτία; howe muche more should ye be warre with outwarde flatterers, who are nothing so sib to you, as your selfe is; by the selling of suche coun-

Page. Line. 82 5

not for pleasing of friends: but specially choose

12 this hath bin the greatest wight of my mis-thriuing in money matters

83 20 obeye your Lawes precisely

84 2 broken at your lugg?

14 gentliest

16 in your Chalmers

17 to mell

18 Turks Janissairs

85 3 equal

18 his marrowes

19 disguiseth

86 11 visie

14 comely ordour

87 2 as God himselfe saide to ADAM

12 sen without the blessing of God then ye cannot

14 preparation

19 while ye giue it

88 5 suppose I know

6 a veniall sinne

89 4 lyte

13 while he place

18 sibbest examples twicheth us

90 3 harlotrie

13 And as for the rewarde of my continencie, your selfe and sibbe-folkes to you are (praise bee to GOD) sufficient

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Page. Line.

terfait wares, onely preassing to grounde their greatnesse vpon your ruines? And therefore be carefull to præferre none, as ye will be answerable to God, but onely for their worthinesse. But speciallie choose

14 this ouer-sight hath beene the greatest cause of my misthriuing in money matters.

70 16 obey your lawes præciselie

19 broken at your eare?

71 4 gentilest

6 in your chalmer

7 to meddle

8 Turkes Janisares

14 æquall

72 2 his fellowes

4 disguise

16 visite

19 comelie order

27 as Adam saide of Heuah.

73 9 Since then without the blessing of GOD, ye cannot

13 præparation

17 till ye giue it

23 althogh I knowe

25 a light & a veniall sinne

74 17 light

25 till he place

75 5 sibbest examples touches vs

10 incontinencie

20 And as for the blessing God hath bestowed on me, in granting me both a greater continency, and the frutes following ther-upon; your selfe, and sib folkes to you, are (praise be to God) sufficient witnesses: whiche, I hope the same God of his infinite mercy, shall continue

Page. Line.
90 16 witnesses. Bee not ashamed then

- 91 9 obtayned vnderogating
 - 16 while your age
 - 17 staunching the luste in your youth
 - 19 Nor Marie not
- 92 2 vnable
 - 6 nor yet Marie not one
 - 15 allie
 - 18 without care for others
- 93 3 which is ouer-oft
 - 4 them selues
 - 9 coupled with a Deuill
 - 19 to yone
- 94 2 and therefore beware to Marie any but one of your owne Religion; for how can ye be of one flesh

- 9 Preachours
- 96 1 which all standeth
 - 12 sen
 - 13 bairnes
 - 15 equitie
 - 19 mowes
- 97 3 wrak
 - 6 his owne Sister
 - 8 of that unlawfull generation, BOTHVELS trickes can beare witnesse

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Page. Line.
76 1 & increase, without repentance to me and my posteritie.
Be not ashamed then,

- 15 obtained, not derogating
- 21 till your age
- 22 quenching the luste of your youth
- 25 Neither Marie ye
- 27 vn-able
- 77 5 Neither also Marie one
 - 14 alliance
 - 17 without caring for others
 - 23 whiche is ouer oft
 - 24 them-selues
- 78 2 coupled with a Diuell
 - 12 to these
 - 15 And therefore I would rathest haue you to Marie one that were fullie of your owne Religion; her ranke and other qualities beeing aggreeable to your estate. For although that to my great regrate, the nomber of any Princes of power and account, professing our Religion, be but very small; & that therefore this aduice seemes to be the more straite and difficile: yet ye haue deepelie to weigh and cosider vpon these doubts; howe ye & your wife can be of one fleshe,
- 79 6 Preachers
- 80 11 which standeth all
 - 22 since
 - 24 children
 - 26 æquity
- 81 2 jeste
 - 7 wracke
 - 10 his owne Souerane & sister
 - 13 of some of that vn-lawfull generation, *Bothuell* his treacherous behauiours can beare witnesse.

Page. Line.

98 17 Women

19 for when ye see her

- 99 11 reuerente loue and louing feare
 - 14 thir three Kingdomes
 - 19 the seede of divisione and discorde among your posteritie: But if God
- 100 2 what euer conceite
 - 10 your people
- 101 4 Temperance, which onely standeth in the moderate vsing of meat & drinke; but I meane
 - 18 proceeding from the true feare and knowledge of God
- 102 12 slaie one of them, because they were not at the Horne, and that although they were both moe in number, and also knowne to be deboshed
 - 18 reputation; yet because there was no eye-witnesse present that could verifie
- 103 3 under pecuniall pains
 - 6 break the tedder
- 104 2 craft of the Deuil
 - 5 titles thereof
 - 10 For what difference is betuixte extreame tyrranny
 - 14 his marrow?
- 105 I wil he faine of thissels
 - 4 preposterous
 - 5 our Puritane Ministers
 - 10 more pride vnder such a ones black-bonnet, nor vnder great ALEXANDERS Diademe (as was saide of the cloutes of DIOGENES.)

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Page, Line.

- 82 18 wemen
 - 20 but when ye see her
- 83 5 reuerent loue and feare
 - 8 these three kingdomes
 - 13 the seede of diuision & discorde among your posteritie: as befell to this Ile, by the diuisio & assignement therof, to the three sonnes of Brutus, Locrine, Albanact, and Camber. But if God
 - 20 what-so-euer conceit
 - 27 the people
- 84 14 Temperance, whiche only consists in gustu & tactu, by the moderating of these two senses; but I meane
- 85 2 proceeding fro a feeling feare & true knowledge of God
 - 17 slaie one of them, they being both moe in nomber, and also knowne to be deboshed
 - 22 reputation: yet because they
 were not at the horne, or
 there was no eie-witnesse
 present that could verifie
- 86 2 vnder great pecuniall paines
 - 5 breake the halter
 - 22 crafte of the Diuell
 - 25 titles of it
- 87 4 For in infinitis omnia concurrunt; and what difference is betwixt extreame tyrannie
 - 9 his copanion?
 - 16 will be glade of thrissels
 - 19 præposterous
 - 20 the proude Puritanes
 - 26 more pride vnder suche a ones black bonnet, then vnder Alexander the great his Diademe, as was saide of Diogenes in the like cace.

- Page. Line.
 106 3 thir two restrictions;
 - 11 thir vaine Astrologians,
 - 15 sen al arts
- 107 5 light burden,
 - 6 weight
 - 8 well seene in the Scriptures,
 - 15 for if euer
 - 17 to meddle with the policie or estate in the Pulpite:
- 19 snibbe sickerlie the firste that minteth to it: And (if hee like to appeale or declyne) when ye haue taken order with his heade, his brethren may (if they please) powle his haire and pare his nayles, as the King my Grandefather said of a Priest. Doe nothing towardes them without a good grounde and warrante, but reason not much with them, for (as I haue tolde you before) I haue else ouer-much bursten them with that, Contra verbosos, notific contendere verbis: And suf-
- fer no Conuentions
 109 8 haunt whiles your Session,
 - 10 narrow tente
 - 17 the poore that can not waite on:
- 7 for pittie of the poore then, 10 the most cloak, if it be his;
- 111 9 a sharpe counte
 - 12 authentick histories, & specially in the Chronicles of al nations:
 - 17 while your daies,

- Page. Line.
 88 13 these two restrictions
 - 22 these vaine Astrologians
 - 26 since all artes
- 89 11 light burthe, the waight wherof
 - 14 well seene in the Scriptures, as I remembred you in the first book;
 - 24 and if euer
 - 26 to medle in that place with the estate or policy: but punishe
- seuearlie the first that præsumeth to it. Doe nothing towardes them without a good grounde and warrant; but reason not muche with them: for I haue ouer-much surfaited them with that, & it is not their fashiō to yeeld. And suffer no conventions

- 24 haunt your Session
- 26 good heed
- 91 6 the poore that cannot waite on, or are debarred by mightier parties.
 - 18 and for pittie of the poore,
 - 21 the larger coate if it be his:
- 92 14 a sharpe account
 - 17 authenticke histories, & in the Chronicles of all nations; but speciallie in our owne histories (Ne sis peregrinus domi) the example wherof moste neerely concernes you.
 - 25 vntill your daies,

- Page. Line.
- 112 1 archi-bellowces of rebellio, ar flitted into them that hoardeth their bookes, or mainteineth their opinions,
 - 9 Quia nihil nunc dici aut fieri potest, quod non dictum & factum sit prius;
 - 13 volubilitie
 - 17 likewaies
- 113 1 discourse with them vpon the estate of their owne cuntry.

- 4 versed into them,
- 12 I trow
- 16 situation of Campes, making Fortifications, breaches or such like:
- 114 10 stewarding
- 115 7 And because it is likely by the course of nature, that my Wife shall out-liue me;
 - 18 preasse euer earnestlie
- 116 13 Gouernoures and vp-bringers, and your preceptours;
 - 20 presume
- 7 when their turnes commeth athorte you, oppressing the oppressour
 - 14 that Stoick insensible stupiditie that proud inconstant

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- 93 2 archi bellouses of rebellion, haue made transition in them that hoardes their bookes, or maintaines their opinions;
 - 11 quia nihil novum sub sole
 - 15 revolution
 - 19 likewise
 - 23 discourse with them vpon the estate of their owne countrie. And among all profane histories, I muste not omitte most speciallie to recommend vnto you, the Commentaries
- of Cæsar; both for the sweete flowing of the stile, as also for the worthinesse of the matter it selfe. For I haue euer bene of that opinion, that of all the Ethnicke Emperours, or great Captaines that euer was, he hath farthest excelled, both in his practise, and in his præcepts in martiall affaires.
 - 11 versed in them,
 - 19 I thinke
 - 24 situatio of Campes, ordering of battels, making Fortificatios, placing of batteries, or suche like.
- 95 13 husbanding
- 96 2 And if it fall out that my Wife shall out-liue me
 - 15 preasse earnestlie
- of 3 gouernours, vp-bringers, and Præceptours:
 - 10 præsume
 - 19 when their erands come in your way, recompending the oppressour
 - 26 that Stoick insensible stupiditie, wherewith with many in our

- Page. Line.

 117 16 LIPSIVS perswadeth in his
 Constătia.
- 118 4 for your honour & weal; but prouide how to haue, and caste not awaie without cause; & speciallie, enrich not your self with exactions upon your subjects; but think the riches of your people your best pose, by the sinnes of the offenders making your kitchin to reik;

- 3 him whom of he maketh the report;
 - 12 for sen suspicion
 - 17 as for people that have slipped before, Argumentum a simili may justlie breede prevention by fore-sight
- 120 4 imprented
 - 7 the old Romans
 - in a natural habitude vnto you, that as by their hearing

- Page. Line.

 98 I dayes, preassing to winne honor, in imitating that auncient sect, by their inconstant behaviour in their owne liues, belyes their profession.
 - 13 for your honour & weale: but with that proportionall discretion, that euerie man may be serued according to his measure: wherein respect must be had to his ranke, desertes, & necessitie. And prouide howe to haue, but cast not away without cause. In speciall empaire not by your Liberality the ordinarie rents of your crowne; whereby the estate royall of you, and your successours, must be maintained, ne exhaurias fontem liberalitatis: for that would euer be kept sacro-
- 99 I sanctum & extra commercium: otherwaies, your Liberalitie would declyne to Prodigalitie, in helping others with your and your successors hurte. And aboue all, enriche not your selfe with exactions vpon your subjects; but think the riches of your people your best treasure, by the sinnes of offenders, where no prævention can availe, making justlie your commoditie.
 - 25 him, of whome he maketh the report;
- 100 9 For since suspicion
 - 14 as for suche as haue slipped before, former experience may justlie breede prævention by fore-sight.
 - 22 imprinted
 - 25 the olde Romaines:
- 4 to a naturall habitude in you; & as by their hearing

Page. Line.

ANENT A KINGS BEHAV-IOVR IN INDIFFERENT THINGS.

THE THIRD BOOKE.

- 121 3 one set on a skaffold,
- 122 2 time (the tryer of al trueth) it wil vanish, by the euidence of the contrarie euents,
 - 13 not a middes betuixt them, no more nor betuixte their rewardes,
- 123 I your vertuous qualities.
 - 14 in-case
 - 18 vsing of them,
- 124 I To beginne first then
 - 3 manyest (especiallie strangers)
 - 9 ye also do so
- 125 2 reasonable rude and commonmeates,
 - 4 durable for trauell,
 - 9 pride, and breed disdaine in them. Let all your foode be of simples,
 - 17 not for fatisfying [sic] of the appetite, abhorring APITIVS their owne citizen, for his vice of delicacie.
 - 20 Grecians and Romanes
- 126 3 wishe of the Cranne-craig:
- 127 2 garring then reade pleasant histories
 - 4 when yee are euil disposed, interteine
 - 12 consumed on meate [sic] drinke, and sleepe.
 - 15 whiles so,
- 128 3 more nor

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Page. Line.

OF A KINGS BEHAVI
OVR IN INDIFFERENT

THINGS.

THE THIRD BOOKE.

- 103 3 one set on a stage,
- 104 3 time, the tryar of all trueth, it will evanishe, by the evidence of the contrarie effectes,
 - 15 not a middes betwixt them, no more then betwixt their rewards,
 - 22 your inward vertuous disposi-
- 105 9 in-cace
 - 12 vsing them,
 - 15 To beginne then
 - 17 maniest, especially strangers,
 - 23 ye also doe so,
- 106 11 reasonablie-groffe, & commonmeates
 - 13 durable for trauell at all occasios, either in peace or in warre:
 - 19 pride and daintinesse, and breede coldenesse & disdaine in them. Let all your foode be simple,
- Io7 I not for satisfying of the necessity of nature; abhorring Apicius their owne citizen, for his vice of delicacie & mostrous gluttony.
 - 5 Græcians & Romanes
 - 7 wishe of a Crane-craig.
 - 26 causing to reade pleasant histories
- 108 I when ye are not disposed, entertaine
 - 9 consumed on meate, drink, sleepe, and vnnecessarie occupations.
 - 14 some-times so
 - 22 more then

- Page. Line.
 128 7 the time of your rest,
 - 8 carying clatters
 - 16 at the Crosse:
- 129 7 quod omnia sunt sancta sanctis, all daies and meates being alike to Christianes (as PAVLL sayth.)
 - 16 a miserable pedder
- 130 6 a midde forme, inter Togatos & Palliatos,
 - 12 PALLIATVS
 - 18 our puritanes
- 131 3 to hide our nakednesse and shame, and consequentlie to make vs more comelie:
 - 8 these naturall partes ordeyned to be hidde, shoulde not then be represented by anie formes in the cloathes, as the greate filthy Baloppes do (bearing the pensel of PRIAPVS) which therefore I thinke the onelie valuewfull forme of cloathes:
 - 19 doe among vnchaste women;
- 132 4 heate or cold:
 - 12 metus addet alas.
 - 18 whiles richlier, whiles meanelier
- 133 2 it will bee thought idle otherwaies, as CESAR said de compto iuuene, whose spirite therefore he feared not:
 - 11 wearing long your haire
- 134 3 toilsome weapons
 - 9 also such trayterous defensiue armes,
- 135 2 outward glance
 - 8 thir arguments,
 - which also our forebeares ved. [sic, for vsed.]

- Page. Line.
 108 26 in the time of your rest,
- 109 1 carrying reports
 - 9 at the mercate crosse.
 - 21 Omnia esse pura puris, as Paule saieth; all daies and meates being alike to Christians.
- 110 4 a miserable wretche;
 - 14 a midde forme, inter Togatos & Paludatos;
 - 21 paludatus,
 - 27 the Puritanes
- 111 4 first to hide our nakednesse and shame; next and consequentlie, to make vs more comelie;
 - 10 then these naturall parts ordained to be hid, should not be represetted by any vn-decent formes in the cloathes:
 - 17 does amongst vnchaste wemen:
 - 23 heate and colde.
- 112 5 metus addit alas.
 - II some-times richelier, sometimes meanlier
 - 15 it will be thought idle otherwaies, and ye shall be accompted in the nonber of one of these compti iuvenes; which will make your spirite & judgement to be lesse thought of.
 - 27 wearing long haire
- 113 12 tuilyesome weapons
 - 19 also all traiterous defensiue armes,
- 114 6 outwarde showe
 - 13 these arguments,
 - 17 whiche also our forefathers vsed.

Page. Line.
136 2 fairdit with artifice:

- 3 Rien counterfaict fin:
 - 8 a rusticall corrupt leid, nor yet booke-language,
- 15 buylded av
- 20 alleadging Scripture
- 137 7 fashion of your cuntry.
- 138 II as if he stoode awe of any in vttering his thoughts; except some vnhappie mutinie or suddaine rebellion were blazed vp: then indeed it is a lawfull pollicie, to beare with that present firie confusion by fair generall speeches, (keeping you as far as ye can from direct promises) while the fire be quenched, & that confused masse separated; & to do otherwaies, it were no Magnanimity, but rash tempting of God. Remember also, to put a difference
- 140 18 ye mell with. And because your writs
- 141 I vncomelines and vnhonestie: & according to HORACES counsell de arte poetica.

Nonum premantur in annum,

- 6 letting first that furie and heate coole at leasure wherewith they were written, & then as an vncouth judge and censure, reuising them ouer againe, antequam vltimam adhibeas manum.
- 142 2 poëtick floures, as it shal reteine the lustre of a poëme although in prose:

Page, Line.

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- 115 2 fairded with artifice:
 - 3 Rien contre-faict fin:
 - 10 any rusticall corrupt leide, as booke-language,
 - 17 builded euer
 - 22 alleadging and prophaning the Scripture
- 116 4 fashion of the countrie.
- 117 I as if he stoode awe of any in vttering his thoughts.

- 4 Remember also, to put a difference
- 118 15 ye medle with. And because your writes
 - 19 vn comelinesse and vn honestie: and according to Horace his counsell

Nonum que premantur in annum.

- 24 letting first that fury & heate, wherewith they were written, coole at leasure; and then as an vncouth judge and censor,
- 119 I reuising them ouer againe, before they be published, quia nescit vox missa reuerti.
 - 16 poëticke floures, and in faire and pertinent comparisons; as it shall retaine the lustre of a poëme, although in prose.
 - 23 ynewe

7 ynow

Page. Line.
142 10 make famous his owne lan-

- guage,
 - 15 among 20 habilitie
- 143 3 engyne
 - 7 Idlenesse (the mother of all vices)
 - II rumling violente exercises;
 - 15 Comedians and Gysares
- 144 I playing at the Caitche:

16 speciallie

- 145 i grey-hound hunting, is not so martial nor noble a game.
 - 4 ZENOPHON
 - 6 flattering either me or you
 - 19 thir games
- 146 2 precisely for to keip,
 - 12 sen they may whiles supplie the roome, which being tome would be patent to pernicious idleteth, quia nihil potest esse vacuum: I wil not therefore agree with the curiositie of DANAEVS in his booke De lusu aleæ, and most of the French Ministers (although otherwaies surely I reuerence them
- 147 3 that the playing at Cards or Dice
 - 15 Cardes or Dice,
- 148 1 vain Carders & Dicers
 - 10 euill disposed in your person, then (I say) may ye lawfully play at the Cardes or Tables:
 - 15 there drums,
- 149 I faschious thoughts
 - 13 tricking and lying in mowes:

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119 26 make famous his owne tongue

120 4 amongst

Page, Line.

- 9 ability
- 12 engine,
- 16 idlenesse (the mother of all vice)
- 21 rough & violet exercises,
- 25 Comedians & Balladines
- 121 4 playing at the caitche or tennise, archery, palle maillé, & suche like other faire & pleasāt field games.
 - 22 namelie
 - 26 grey-hound hunting is not so martiall a game.
- 122 3 Xenophon,
 - 5 flattering you or me
 - 19 these games
 - 22 præciselie to keepe:
- 123 7 since they may at times supply the roome, whiche being empty, would be patet to pernitious idlenes quia nihil potest esse vacuum. I will not therfore aggree with the curiosity of some learned men in our age, in forbidding carts, dice, and other suche like games of hazard; althogh otherwaies surely I reuerence them
 - 19 that the playing at suche games,
- 124 5 cartes or dice
 - 12 vaine carters and dicers,
 - 22 euill disposed in your person, and when it is foule and stormie weather; then, I say, may ye lawfully play at the carts or tables.
- 125 I their drums,
 - 8 fashious thoughts
 - 22 tricking and lying in jeste:

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 149 18 falshood vsed to gaine with,
 can be called any play.
- 151 4 But specially absteine from hanting
 - 7 nothing else but Alliciamenta Veneris: & abuse not your self
 - 9 speciallie delight not
 - 13 and delighted to make Comedies and Tragedies themselues; Where vppon the aunswere that a Philosopher gaue one of them thereanents,
 - 18 And all the ruse that NERO made of him selfe when he died, was Hodie moritur optimus Tragæda, as indeede his whole life was al but one Tragedy.
- 152 6 DV BARTAS saith, Leur esprit s'en fuit au bout des doigts. But spare not whiles by merie companie
 - 9 ye should be mooued with
- 153 11 outwarde and indifferente thinges, are euer the shaddowes and allurers to vertue or vice:
 - 16 by mixinge through allie and dailie conversation, the men of every kingdome with an other,
- 154 I in this Ile of Brittane, being all but one Ile, and al-ready

- Page. Line.
 125 27 falshood vsed for desire of gaine, can be called a play.
- 127 I And chieflie abstaine from haunting
 - 3 no thing else, but *irritamenta libidinis*. Be warre likewaies to abuse your selfe,
 - 7 and delight not
 - actors of Comædies & Tragædies themselues. Wherupon the answer that the poëte *Philoxenus* disdainfullie gaue to the Tyran of *Syracuse* there-anent,
 - 16 And all the ruse that Nero made of him selfe when he died, was Qualis artifex perco? meaning of his skill in menstrally, and playing of Tragœdies: as indeede his whole life and death, was all but one Tragœdie.
- 128 I Leur esprit s'en fuit au bout des doigts, saith Du Bartas: whose works, as they are all most worthie to be red by any Prince, or other good Christian; so would I especially wish you to be well versed in them. But spare not some-times by merie companie,
 - ye should be euer mooued with reason,
- 129 4 these outward and indifferent things, will serue greatlie for allurements to the people, to embrace and followe vertue.
 - It so mixing through alliance & daylie conversation, the inhabitants of euery kingdome with other,
 - 16 betwixt these two nations, heeing both but one Ile of Britaine, and alreadie joyned in

Page. Line.

154 3 ioyned in vnitie of Religion and language.

- Page. Line.

 129 18 vnitie of Religion, & language. So that euen as in the times of our ancestors, the long warres and many bloodie battels betwixt these two countries, bred a naturall & hæreditarie hatred in euery of them, against the other: the vniting & welding of them heerafter in one, by all sort of friendship, commerce, and
- of friendship, commerce, and alliance; will by the contrary, produce and maintaine a naturall & inseparable vnitie of loue amongst them. As we have alreadie (praise be to God) a great experience of the good beginning heereof, & of the quenching of the olde hate in the harts of both the people; procured by the meanes of this long & happie amitie, betweene the Queene my dearest sister & me; whiche during the whole time of both our raignes hath euer beene inviolablie obserued.
 - 17 to looke for a blessing to all your actions in your office: by the outwarde vsing thereof, to testifie
 - 22 the viue image
- 27 ripe in cocluding, and con-131 I stant in your resolution.
 - 4 defect in it,
 - 12 both the parties:
 - 18 two handes and two feete, with many fingers & toes
- 132 10 hate a whole race for the fault of one: for noxa caput sequitur.
 - 16 tyed to any,
- 133 24 middesses
 - 27 let it be your cheefest earthlie glorie, to excell in your own

- 8 to procure a blessing to all your actiones in your office: by the outwarde vsing of your office to testifie
- 15 the true shaddowe
- 20 colde in deliberation, ripe in concluding, & constant in your resolution:
- 155 3 wrong in it,
 - 11 both the pairties:
 - 18 two handes, with manie fingers
- 156 17 hate a whole race, Nam omnia delicta sunt personalia.
- 157 2 bound to any.
- 158 17 middises
 - 19 Let it be your chiefest earthly glorie, to excel in your owne

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159 I craft: according to that worthie sentence of that sublime and Heroicall Poet VIRGIL, wherein also my dictione is included:

Excudent alij spirantia mollius æra, Credo equidem: viuos ducent de marmore vultus.

Orabunt causas melius; cœlique meatus

Describent radio, & surgentia sydera dicent.

Tu, regere imperio populos, Romane, memento:

[Hæ tibi erunt artes] pacique imponere morem.

PARCERE SVBIECTIS ET DEBELLARE SVPERBOS.

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134 2 craft: according to the worthie counsell & charge of Anchises to his posterity, in that sublime & heroical Poet, wherein also my dicton is included;

Excudent alij spirantia molliùs æra, Credo equidem, & viuos ducent de marmore vultus,

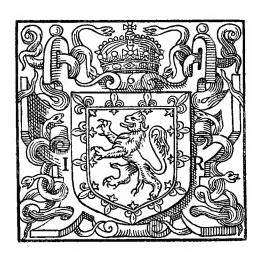
Orabunt causas meliùs, cælique meatus

Describēt radio, & surgētia sydera dicēt.

Tu, regere imperio populos, Romane, memento:

(Hæ tibi erunt artes) pacique imponere morem,

"Parcere subjectis, & debellare superbos.



GLOSSARY.

Affectatelie mignarde (p. 126, l. 16).

Affectedly delicate.

Allie (friendship by) (p. 92, l. 15). Alliance.

ALLUTERLY absteine from these playes (p. 149, l. 16).
Entirely; wholly.

ANENT a Kings Christian Duetie (p. 3, l. 1).

About; concerning; in relation to.

ANTECESSOURS (worthines of their) (\$\phi\$. 57, \$l. 2).

Ancestors; predecessors.

ARBITRALL (in things) (p. 110, l. 14).

Of or pertaining to arbiters; subject to the exercise of will.

ARCHI-BELLOWCES of rebellion (p.112, l. 1).

Arch-bellows for blowing up rebel-

Arles-pennie unto you of his love (p. 16, l. 5).

Money to bind a bargain; an earnest of whatever kind; a pledge of full possession.

Athort (when ye come) (p. 65, l. 13).
Athwart; about; across; far and wide.

Aver (a kindly) wil never become a good horse (p. 74, l. 13).

Cart-horse, by breed or descent.

Av ("Argument", l. 10).

Ay ("Argument", 1. 10). Ever; always.

BAIRD (to playe the) (p. 64, l. 8). To rail; lampoon; satirize. BAIRDES (emboldened as) to crie the learned, etc. out of it (p. 49, l. 1).

Poets or Bards; a term in the old Scotch laws, contemptuously applied to those strolling Rhymers who were wont to oppress the lieges (Jas. VI. 1579, c. 74). It has also been explained as Railers or Lampooners.

BAITED upon the wrak, first of my Grand-mother, etc. (p. 47, l. 3). Fed upon the ruin, etc.

BALLADINES (Comedianes, or) (p. 151, l. 11).

Dancers of Galliards and other stirring dances: see Minsheu and Skinner.

BALOPPES (greate filthy) (p. 131, l. 11). From "ballok" (Anglo-Sax.); "ballocks," "balloxs," Testiculi. It is used in Wicliffe's version of the Bible, Levit. xxii. 24, "or kitt and taken away the ballokes"; old version, "ballokcod," Voc. 208. It is also used by Sir John Mandeville; but in Palsgrave's "Acolastus," 1540, it appears as a term of endearment. In the text, it applies to the flap on the fore-part of the breeches, which is buttoned up; in English, "cod-piece."

BANG it out bravelie (\$\psi\$. 54, \$l\$. 5).

To beat or hammer out; to fight.

BARBARES (and are alluterlie) (p. 42, l. 19).
Barbarous,

BE-GESSE of them (I will not speake) (\$\psi\$, 44, \$\lambda\$. 17).

By chance; at random.

BEGOUTH to fantasie to themselves (p. 46, l. 20).
Began.

BIDE; Byding; Bode (p. 155, l. 2, etc.).

Abide; wait; stay; attend; withstand.

BLEWE-BLANKET [up must the bleweblanket gol (2, 62, 7, 5).

blanket go] (2. 62, 1. 5).

The name given to the banner of the craftsmen in Edinburgh by K. James III., as a perpetual remembrance of their loyalty and bravery; with a power to display the same in defence of their king, country, and their own rights. But some writers give an earlier origin to it.

BOGLE [making a bogle of you] (p. 55, l. 7).

Shadow; goblin; spectre.

BROOKE this North and barrennest part (p. 43, l. 18).

To use or enjoy.

BURREAUX (to become his) (p. 31, l. 14).

Hangmen (French, "bourreau").

BURSTEN them with over-much reason (p. 51, l. 11).

Burst; overpowered with fatigue.

BYE for us the worste wares (p. 60, l. 1).

Buy; pay for.

BYLE (a leprouse) (p. 4, l. 20). A small tumour.

CAITCHE (playing at the) (p. 144, l. 1).

A favourite game at court in the reigns of K. James IV. and V. Probably a similar game to that of catch-ball, which is still practised in Scotland. (See W. Dunbar's "Poems," ed. by D. Laing, II. 401.) Dr. Jamieson ("Scot. Dict.") seems in doubt as to the meaning.

CANDIE - SOLDIER (not over lightly like a) (p. 129, l. 20).

CANDIE-SOLDIER -- continued.

A soldier of Candia; who, from the heat of the climate, wears but little clothing.

CENSURE (according to your) (p. 20, l. 13).

Opinion; judgment.

CHALMER (in your) (p. 84, l. 16). Chamber.

CHEEPE WARES (best and best) (p. 61, l. 2).

Now used to signify "at a low price." It was never used as an adj. in the earlier periods. The Middle-English "chep," "cheap," "cheep," was a subst. signifying "barter" or "price"; hence the expression "god chep" or "good cheap" = a good price (for the buyer), meaning "cheap," in imitation of the French "bon marché."

CHOPPE (Conscience will) (\$\phi\$.18, \$\lambda\$.10). To chop; strike: similar to the French "chopper" = "heurter," = "toucher ou rencontrer rudement; donner un choc," To attack rudely, etc. In the Essex dialect it signifies also to "flog." In the Midland hunting dialect it means killing a fox without a run, in contradistinction to a run with or without a kill.

CLATTERS (carying) out of your Chalmer (p. 128, l. 9).

Chat; tittle-tattle.

CLOUTHES of Diogenes (p. 105, l. 13). Clouts; pieces or shreds of cloth.

Coinzie (corruption of the) (\$\psi\$.60, \$\lambda\$.9).

COMPEERE with new and white garments (p. 18, l. 14).

To present one's self in court in consequence of being summoned.

Concertions; ideas; notions.

Conserved by Conscience (p. 9, l. 15).

Looked after (law term).

GLOSSARY. liii

Coult of a courser of Naples (p. 39, l. 18).

Colt; a young horse; a young animal.

COUNTE BOOKE and Inventarie (p. 18, l. 5).

Account book.

CRAIGES (the perrill of their) (p. 54, l. 14).

Necks or throats.

CRAK with God (to) (p. 15, l. 17). To converse; to chat.

CRANNE-CRAIG (his filthie wishe of the) (p. 125, l. 3). Crane's neck; a special delicacy

with luxurious Romans.

DANTONE his owne proper affections (p. 3, l. 5).

To subdue; tame; affright; daunt: see Florio, p. 11.

DEBARRES the committars ... from entrie (p. 88, l. 20).
Debars.

DEBOSHED insolence (p. 86, l. 6).
Debauched; intemperate. French,
"débauché."

DECREITS (irrevocable) (p. 33, l. 16). Decrees.

DELATOURES (heard there with their) (p. 111, l. 2).
Accusers.

DELITE most in reading such partes of Scripture (p. 14, l. 2).

DICTONE (wherein also my) is included (p. 159, l. 4).
Dictum.

DIFFICILE (p. 13, l. 13).

Difficult: from the Latin "difficilis." Used in Hall's "Chronicle of Henry VIII.," fol. 20.

DILATED in the Lawe (more largelie) (p. 10, l. 12).

Explained or discoursed at great length.

Dinging ever in their eares (p. 57. l. 19).

Beating; striking; overcoming.

DISPONE them never heretablic againe (p. 58, l. 17).

To make over, or to convey to another in a legal form.

DITED by Gods spirit (p. 10, l. 1). Dictated; written.

DITEMENT (p. 13, l. 4).

Anything endited or dictated by another; indictment.

DOAZEN your reason (p. 117, l. 19). To benumb; to stupefy.

EIKE an other crime to be unpardonable (p. 38, l. 13).

To add; augment; increase; eke

EMPYRING over your own passion (p. 114, l. 8).
Governing.

Engine spurre you to write (if your) (p. 140, l. 8.

Genius; wit; intellect; disposi-

ENTERPRETE all the adversities (p. 16, l. 19).
To interpret.

Entresse (be can have) (p. 119, l. 2).
Interest; business; entrance.

ESTATES (the) not knowing themselves whom therby they hurt (\$\phi\$, 33, \$L\$, 19).

(p. 33, l. 19).
The State. The three estates were the Lords, including the Prelates; the Barons; and the Burgesses

EXAMPLAR excuse for any other (p. 74, l. 4).

Pattern; sample; specimen.

FAILZIE (in case of) ("Epistle," p. 2, l. 13).

Failing; failure; non-performance; being in want of anything; penalty in case of disobedience, or breach of bargain. liv GLOSSARY.

FAIRDING (false heire and) (p. 131, l. 18).

Painting; disguising. (From the French).

FANTASIE (to) to themselves (p. 46, l. 20).

To fancy; to regard with affection. FASCHIOUS thoughts (p. 149, l. 1).

Troublesome (from the French, "facheux, facheuse").

FECTLES arrogant conceite (p. 53, 1.8).

Feeble; little and weak.

FEIDE against him (p. 54, l. 3). Feud; enmity; war.

FINE of any mechanick craft (p. 152, l. 5). End (from the French "fin").

FONDE (p. 148, l. 17).

Stupid; foolish; simple; half-silly; fearful; timid; weak; idle; unprofitable. From "fon," to play the fool. See Chaucer's "Romaunt of the Rose"; Hooker; Ascham; Shakespeare; Davies; Milton, etc.

FOREBEARES (our) (p. 135, l. 12). Forefathers.

FOREFALTED (banished or) by me (p. 79, l. 13). Forfeited.

FRA it bee given forth (p. 139, l. 16). From the time; when.

FREATS either in dreams or any other thinges (p. 129, l. 3).

A superstitious notion or belief, with respect to any action or event, as a good or bad omen; a superstitious observance, meant to pro-cure good or evil; a charm; "to stand on frets," to stickle at trifles.

GAGE so much of his owne money (p. 147, l. 13). To gage; to pledge; to wager.

GALLIARDEST and bravest (p. 133, l. 8).

Sprightly; brisk; lively. the French, "gaillard.")

GARRE the people be payed (p. 61, l. 12).

To make; to cause; to force.

GIVING first honestlye uppe with him (p. 67, l. 12).

Upgive is an old forensic term, signifying "to deliver up." In the present case it probably means the giving to an opponent full particulars of his delinquency, and expressing a determination of taking extreme measures against him.

GLAIKERIE (an arrogant) (p. 23, l. 8). Folly; wantonness; caprice; giddiness; deception.

GLISTER & shine before their people (p. 5, l. 16).

To glitter; to shine.

GUST of government sweet (finding the) (p. 46, l. 19). Taste; relish.

GYSARES (Comedians and) (p. 143, l. 16).

Maskers; harlequins: a term applied to those who disguised themselves about the time of the new year. (See W. Dunbar's "Poems," vol. 2, pp. 256—258). The exhibitions of "gysarts" are still known in Scotland, being the same with the Christmas mummeries in England. (From the Teutonic "guyse.")

HABITUDE (natural) (p. 120, l. 12). Custom; use; disposition.

HAME (bring not) (p. 79, l. 12). Home.

HANTING (absteine from) (p. 151, l. 5).

Frequenting (from the French "hanter," to resort to, frequent).

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HAPPE (had better hearte then) (p. 79, l. 5).
Good luck.

HORNE (they were not at the) (p. 102, l. 13).

A forensic phrase, much used in the Scotch Courts, signifying to denounce as a Rebel; to outlaw a person for not appearing in the Court to which he is summoned. The phrase originated from the manner in which a person is denounced an Outlaw. A king's messenger legally empowered for this purpose, after other formalities, must give three blasts with a Horn.

IDLETETH (patent to pernicious) (p. 146, l. 14).
Idleness.

IMPRENTED in mens mindes (p. 120, l. 4).

Printed upon; impressed deeply.

INFAMING (p. 40, l.). Defaming.

INKE-HORNE tearmes (Pen and) (p. 136, l. 10).

Affected and pedantic expressions. Sir T. Wilson, in his "Arte of Rhetorique," 1553, says (p. 165), "hee that can catche an ynke horne terme by the taile, him they counte to be a fine Englishman, and a good rhetorician."

INTERESSE (ever thinking the common) (p. 29, l. 17).

Interest; concern.

INTERTAYNER and quickner of Religion (p. 14, l. 8).

Entertainer; supporter.

INTROMISSION (take a sharp account of their) (p. 82, l. 10).

A legal term, signifying the act of intermeddling with the property of the living or deceased.

JOWKING or nodding at every step (p. 137, l. 11).

Bending down the body with a quick motion.

KITHE your clemencie (if otherwise ye) (\$\nu_{\text{.}}\$ 36, \$\lambda_{\text{.}}\$ 16).

To show; make known.

Law-burrowes in our lawes (p. 103, l. 2).

Law-borrois; law-borrows. The legal security which one man is obliged to give, that he will not do any injury to another in person or property.

LEARE ("Dedication," 1.9).
To learn; and also to teach.

LEID (a rusticall corrupt) (p. 136, l.9). A lay; a song.

LENTRON (eating fish in) (p. 63, l. 17). The season of Lent.

LET an admission (p. 75, l. 4). To prevent; hinder.

LIGHTLY your enemie (Neither feare nor) (p. 70, l. 9).

To hold in low estimation; to think or speak lightly of; despise; undervalue.

LIPPENING to Viceroyes (p. 65, l. 7). Trusting to; confiding in.

LIST (devise and labour as he) (p. 3, l. 13).

To will; to please.

LONGSOME works in hand (take no) (\$\nu_{l}\$. 140, \$l\$. 11). Tedious.

LOWABLE custome of Englande (p. 58, l. 20).

Laudable; commendable (from the French "louable").

Lugg (be broken at your) (p. 84, l. 3). The ear.

LYTE (to counte that) (p. 89, l. 4). A little; small; limited.

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MAIR ("Dedication," 1. 4). More.

MANYEST, especiallie strangers (p 124, l. 3).

A multitude; company; forces.

MARROWES (be envyed by his) (\$\psi\$. 85, \$\lambda\$. 18).

Mates; partners; companions; married partners.

MEANED by the reste of his subjectes $(\cancel{p}, \cancel{31}, \cancel{l}, \cancel{17})$. Lamented.

MELL in any mens particulars (p. 84, l. 17).

To meddle; mingle; or mix with. Used by Spenser and Shakespeare.

MIDDES betuixt them (not a) (p. 122, l. 14).

The midst; middle.

MIGNARDE like a dayntie dame (p. 126, l. 16).

Tender; delicate (from the French "mignard").

MINTETH to it (snibbe sickerlie the firste that) (p. 107, l. 19).
To aim; intend; attempt.

MISNURTURED presumption (p. 13, l. 18).

Ill bred; unmannerly.

Mo good lawes (p. 33, l. 2). More.

MORGUE (an uncouth) like a newcomeover Cavalier (p. 137, l. 5). A strange, solemn face.

Mowes (swearing or lying, suppose but in) (p. 21, l. 20).

Mocks; scornful grins (from mow, the mouth); jests. Used by Chaucer in "Troilus and Creseide," b. iv. s. 1; in Bible, 1551, Ps. xxxv.; in Tyndall's Works, p. 123; by Shakespeare, etc.

MOYEN (waste their) (p. 148, l. 2).
Property; interest; means for attaining an end.

NOR (p. 13, l. 19). Than.

NURISHE-MILKE (p. 53, l. 10). Nurse's milk.

NURISH-FATHER to the Church (p. 51, l. 18).

Nursing-father. K. James, in Acts, Jas. VI. 1609, declares himself to be "the nuris-father of the Kirk."

OBLISH (no desertes can) (p. 49, l. 13). To bind; oblige.

OR ye play (p. 149, l. 7). Ere; before.

ORDER (taken) with his heade (p. 108, l. 1).

To adopt a course for bringing under proper regulation.

ORDOURES sake (for) (p. 45, l. 20). Order.

ORPING (feare not their) (p. 54, l. 18). Fretting; repining.

OVER-FARRE first in greatnes (\$\psi\$. 53, \(\lambda\$. 3). By far.

OVER-LORDES & the Chiefes of their clannes (p. 43, l. 3).
Superior lords.

PAIRTIES (both the) (p. 155, l. 12). Parties, sides.

PANSE how ye these preceptes practise shall ("Dedication," l. 12).

To consider; meditate (from the French "penser").

PARITIE in the Church (p. 48, l. 19). Equality.

PASSE-MASTER in any of them (p. 113, l. 6).

A master in his art so perfect as to have succeeded in passing his examination.

PASTOR in his neighbors medow (p. 103, l. 6).
To pasture.

GLOSSARY. lvii

PECCANT humours (what) his patient naturallie is most subject to (p. 44, l. 10).

Sinning; corrupt. This phrase is said to have been first used in Bacon's "Advancement of Learning," in the following form: "Thus have I described and opened as by a kinde of dissection, those peccant humors (the principal of them) etc." B. 1, p. 53: Oxf., 1633. But Bacon's work first appeared in 1605, K. James's in 1599.

PEDDER (like a miserable) (p. 129, *l*. 16).

A pedlar. Forby, in his "Vocabulary of East Anglia," explains the word as "one who carries wares in a 'ped,' pitches it in open mar-ket, and sells from it."

PEECE and peece (p. 153, l. 6). Piece by piece; one after the other. PENSEL of Priapus (p. 131, l. 12).

A small streamer.

PERFITE kinge indeede ("Dedication,"

l. 14; p. 40, l. 12).
Perfect; skilful: applied to any one who does work in a neat and clever manner; complete.

PERTE to make their owne sutes (p. 55, l. 5). Brisk; lively; smart.

PLAGING the prophaine ("Argument," l. 12).

See Bible, 1551, Rev. Plaguing. xvi. 21.

PLATESLEEVES and suchlike unseene armour (p. 134, l. 10).
Gloves made of mail. Used by

Rollock on 2 Thess., p. 128.

Pose (keepe a greate) to the fore (p). 61, 1. 16).

A hidden treasure; anything hoarded up.

POWLE his haire and pare his nayles

(p. 108, l. 3).

The Scotch pow and the English poll are identical. The latter is

POWLE—continued.

used for *head*. In the present instance powle seems, as in Numbers i. 2, and iii. 47, to signify to cut off the hair.

PRATTLE (conscience which manie) (p. 18, l. 19). To tàlk idly.

PRAYE to his appetites (p. 28, l. 18). A prey.

PREASSE to follow mair and maire ("Dedication," 1. 4). To attempt; try; endeavour.

PREINED (paynted) fashione (p. 131, *l*. 16).

Decked; trimmed.

PREJUDGE not the Church (p. 45, l. 17).

To prejudge; also to damage.

PRIDE (neither) you that yee wil be able (p. 94, l. 15). Now used only in the sense, "do

not rate yourself highly."

REDACT them in ordour againe (b. 25, 1. 6).

To force back; put in motion; reduce to form. Used by Joye, Bp. Hall, and Ben Jonson.

REEDE [your father bids you studie here and reede]. ("Dedication," l. 13).

To take counsel; become aware.

REGALITIES (Shirifdomes and) (\$\phi\$. 58, 1. 9).

Regalities were Territorial Jurisdictions granted by the King, with lands given in liberam regalitatem; and conferring on the persons receiving them, although Commoners, the title of "Lords of Regality." As this right was so powerful a prop of the feudal system, and rendered its possessors "Sovereigns" within their own domains, it was wisely abolished after the Rebellion, an.

REGALITIES-continued.

1745-6. See "Erskine's Institutes," B. i, T. 4, § 7, 8. The Civil Jurisdiction of a "Lord of Regality" was in all respects equal to that of a "Sheriff," but his criminal was truly "royal," for he might have judged in the four pleas of the crown, whereas the Sheriff was competent to none of them but Murder.

REGRATE (honorable reporte and just) (\$\nu_{\ell}\$ 32, \$\ell_{\ell}\$ 12).

Regret.

REIK (making your kitchin to) (2.
118, 1. 11).
Smoke.

REMEID to these evils (p. 54, l. 15). Remedy.

RENOUME (leaving a reverente) behinde him in earth (p. 30, l. 20). Renown.

RESPONSALL men to be your receivers (p. 82, l. 7).
Responsible.

ROUSTE and become blunt (p. 143,

To rust.

RUMLING violente exercises (p. 143, l. 11).

Rumbling; noisy.

RUSE [And all the ruse that Nero made of himselfe when he died] (p. 151, l. 18).

Boast.

SECREATES (p. 134, l. 10).

A coat of mail concealed under one's usual dress. See Henderson's deposition (in the Earl of Cromerty's "Account of the Conspiracies of the Earl of Gowry and Robert Logan of Restalrig against K. James VI.," p. 47) as to the Earl of Gowry commanding him to put on his Secrets and Plate Sleeves.

SEN yee come not to your Reigne (p. 35, l. 11), Since; seeing.

SIBBE-FOLKES to you (p. 90, l. 15).
Of kin; related,

SIBBEST examples twicheth us neerest (\$\nu_{\text{N}}\$, 89, \$\lambda_{\text{I}}\$ 18).

Kindred; nearly related; like.

SICKERLIE (snibbe) the firste that minteth to it (\$\nu\$. 107, \$\lambda\$. 19), Firmly; surely.

SITH (passim).

After; afterwards; then.

SLEUTH (punishing of) (p. 69, l. 6). Sloth.

SMITTETH in the seede (sicknesses of the bodie that) (\$\delta\$, 76, \$\lambda\$, 7).

To infect, as with a contagious disorder.

SMOARED downe (their effects may as wel be) (\$\nu_{\epsilon}\$. 56, \$\lambda\$, 3).

Smothered; suffocated.

SNAPPER out (some of them would whiles) (p. 48, l. 6).

Be quick; smart; eager to find fault.

SNIBBE sickerlie the firste that minteth to it (p. 107, l. 19).

Check; arrest; hinder; snub or reproach.

SOATH-SAYERS (keep your land cleane of al) (\$\nu_{\textstyle 68}\$, \$\lambda\$. 9). Soothsayers.

SPAIRE [this trustie friend, the trueth will never spaire] ("Dedication," 1. 5).
To spare.

SPEERE (not pertinent for them to)
(\$\phi\$. 22, \$\lambda\$. 12).
To ask; inquire.

STERVE for hunger (is like to) (p. 104, l. 20),

To die (the German "sterben").

STEWARDING the effectes of your courage (p. 114, l. 10),
Acting like a Steward, who had high

Acting like a Steward, who had high power as a deputy or bailie of the "Lord of Regality." GLOSSARY. lix

SUTE no unlawfull thinges (see that ye) (p. 16, l. 7).

Sue for; persist in soliciting.

Swey (his Scepter do they) ("Argument," l. 2).

To sway: primarily, to move back-

wards and forwards.

SYNE of my own mother (p. 47, l. 5). Since; afterwards; late, as opposed to soon.

TEARMING in your speach (p. 56,

Calling; naming; denominating.

TEDDER (if then his horse break the) (p. 103, l. 6). Halter.

TENTE (taking narrow) (p. 109, l. 10). To be attentive; take heed; be-

TEXTUARE (preasse to be a good) (p. 13, l. 14). Textuary.

THEN are well execute (mo good lawes) (p. 33, l. 3).

THERE-ANENTS (p. 55, l. 13). In that matter.

THERE-FRA (actiones flowing) (p. 102, l. 2). Therefrom.

THESAURER (an honest and diligent) (p. 60, l. 19). Treasurer.

THIR two poyntes (p. 7, l. 20). These.

THRALL by oppression the meaner sort (p. 53, l. 13). To enslave.

THRAW not the word to your appetite ·(þ. 7, l. 5).

To twist; wrench; wreathe; cast; throw.

THRONG and common (let not your Chalmer be) (p. 128, l. 6). Thronged; crowded; open to all.

TIGGING with these thinges (p. 34, *l.* 7).

Touching lightly; dallying; trifling. TIMOUSLIE provide for your training up ("To Henrie," p. 1, l. 23). In due time.

TINSELL of my thankes (p. 37, l. 14). Loss.

TOILSOME WEAPONS in the court (p. 134, 1. 3).

Weapons laborious and wearisome in use.

TOME (which heing) would be patent to pernicious idleteth (p. 146, *l*. 13).

Drawn out into a line.

TRATLER (where ye finde a) (\$\psi\$. 119, 1.7)

A tatler; prattler.

TROW (I) wil looke very bluntly upon it (p. 113, l. 12). To believe.

TURNE and quallity of the committer (p. 38, l. 11).

The performance of any piece of work.

UNCOUTH judge and censure (p. 141, *l*. 8).

Strange; unacquainted with; unknown.

UNDEROGATING to the principalles (p. 91, l. 9).Not detracting from.

UNSPEARED at (nor speake) ("To Henrie," B, l. 8). Not spoken to.

UPBRINGERS and preceptours (p. 116, *l*. 13).

Those who had the early training and bringing up of children.

VAGUE not from their texte (p. 107) *l*. 14). To wander; to roam.

1x GLOSSARY.

VAIK for anie offences committed by them (\$58, l. 16). To become dispossessed or unoccu-

pied.

VISIE the principall parts of the cun-

try (p. 65, l. 3). To visit. VIVE and faire (a mirrour) ("Dedica-

tion," l. 1).
Vivid; lively. (From the French "vif.")

VOLUBILITIE of things earthlye (p. 112, 1. 11).

Here used in its primitive sense of easily rolled; revolution. Volume = a roll, a book, is from the same root.

WAISTER (like a deboshed) (p. 129, l. 15).

A waster; prodigal.

WALKERIFE (be in your owne person) (p. 69, l. 16). Watchful.

WAR with both the extreamities (p. 52, l. 11). Wary; aware.

WEILL (God sent it for your) (p. 17, 1. 12). Benefit; advantage.

WHILE yee roote out these barbarous feides (p. 56, l. 1). Till.

WHILES thinges of greater, and whiles of lesse consequence (2.15, l. 20).

Sometimes; at the time that.

WHOME-TO can so rightly appertein this booke ("To Henrie," l. 1). To whom.

WIGHT (the greatest) of my misthriving (p. 82, l. 13). The blame.

WRAK, first of my Grand-mother (p. 47, l. 4). Wreck; wrack; ruin.

WRITS (your) will remaine as true pictures (p. 140, l. 18). Writings.

YNOUGH for them to worke upon (p. 48, l. 4). Enough.

YONE (p. 35, l. 7). That; these.

